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ABSTRACT

The keynote speeches and papers presented at the 1985 conference on the black family are collected in this document. Titles (and authors) relating to the conference theme, "We are neither motherless, fatherless, nor childless--we are family,": (1) "The Black Family" (Andrew Billingsley); (2) "Black Men's Perceptions of Their Problems: Implications for the Family" (Lawrence E. Gary); (3) "Project ADEPT as an Approach Toward the Prevention of Teenage Pregnancy" (James C. Young); (4) "The Conspiracy To Destroy Black Boys" (Jawanza Kunjufu); (5) "The Case for the Black Male: A Rebuttal to the Case Against the Black Male" (Charles V. Willie); (6) "Black Male/Female Relationships" (Robert Staples); (7) "Population or People: Setting Up the World for Our Children" (Asa G. Hilliard, III); (8) "The Black Child" (Jean Childs Young); (9) "The Black Woman" (Anne H. Grant); (10) "The Black Family" (Arthur Thomas); (11) "Spirituality: An Essential Component of Black Family Development" (Cindy Beard Tappan); (12) "The Portrayal of the Black Family on Religious and Secular Television Programming: A Comparative Analysis" (Robert Abelman); (13) "Social Skill Development of Black Children: The Family's Role (Gwendolyn Cartledge); (14) "Choosing Quality Child Day Care for the Black Child" (Sharon R. Blue); (15) "Black Families and Older Child Adoptions: Characteristics, Success Rates, and Use of Supports" (Ellen E. Pinderhughes); (16) "Communication Development of the Birth to Three Year Old Child: The Role of the Parent" (Patricia G. MacIntyre, Deanna G. Laurence); (17) "The Black Female Single Parent" (Diane Elliott); (18) "The Pregnant Teenager: A National Catastrophe" (Lolita M. McDavid, Raynorda F. Brown); (19) "A Study of Black Urban Families During Pregnancy in a Medical Setting" (Antonnette V. Graham, Kenneth G. Reeb, Gay Kitson, Mary Ann Weber); (20) "Marriage as a Process: A Blueprint for Success" (Reginald C. Blue); (21) "Women and the New World Order" (Kathleen Geathers); (22) "Cancer Awareness and Prevention in the Black Community" (Vickie Campbell, Joyce Lee); (23) "Controlling the Devastating Effects of Hypertension in the Black Family" (Joyce Lee); and (24) "Social Service and Health Career Networking: A Model for Long-Term Hypertension Tracking in Black Family Target Populations" (Francine P. Hekelman, Charlene A. Walker, L. A. Retallick). (KH)

WE ARE NEITHER MOTHERLESS, FATHERLESS, NOR CHILDLESS — WE ARE FAMILY.

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CONFERENCE ON THE BLACK FAMILY
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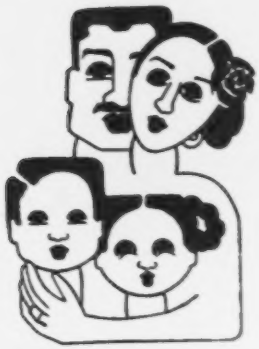

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September 25-28, 1985

Honorary Chairpersons

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I Am The Black Child

I am special, ridicule cannot sway me
I am strong, obstacles cannot stop me
I hold my head high, proudly proclaiming my uniqueness
I hold my pace, continuing forward through adversity
I am proud of my culture and my heritage
I am confident that I can achieve my every goal
I am becoming all that I can be
I am the black child, I am a child of God.

Mychal Wynn

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The Reverend Otis Moss, Jr., D.D.
Pastor and Chairman

Profile of The Reverend Otis Moss, Jr.

Rev. Otis Moss, Jr. is the Pastor of Olivet Institutional Baptist Church, Cleveland, Ohio. He has been directly involved in the civil rights movement as a religious leader and community activist for over twenty years. He espouses the non-violent approach for effecting social and political change. Philosophically, he has a strong bond to Mahatma Ghandi and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. He has extended his ministry beyond what some consider the traditional bounds of church and state.

He is known as a popular lecturer on college campuses and preacher in pulpits throughout the world. Among his many honors are that he was named by Ebony Magazine in 1984 as one of America's 15 greatest preachers. He has numerous publications and sermons that are included in several anthologies. Among his service to numerous civic and religious organizations he is presently serving as National Chairman of Operation PUSH, Member of the Board of Trustees of Morehouse College, and National Board Member and Trustee of the Martin Luther King, Jr., Center for Social Change. Rev. Moss has served on clergy missions to The Republic of China, Japan, West Africa, The Middle East, Europe, and South Korea.

A Word from the Conference Chairman

There is an intrinsic and extrinsic relationship between family and liberation, family and ethnic unity, family and excellence, family and spiritual values, family and future hope.

The most brutal form of oppression begins and ends with an attack on the family. These attacks carry triple doses of lethal venom. The first is spread externally against the oppressed, the second is injected internally within the household of the oppressor, the third is broadly scattered throughout society with the consequence of collective decadence.

If we, the oppressed, save and enhance our family, we will lift the moral quality of all families with a redeeming and transforming quality whose impact will stretch far beyond our time and space.

The family of Desmond Tutu is the civilizing and critical factor for the family of Pieter Botha, the family of Frederick Douglass was the moral standard for his former slave holder, the family of Nelson and Winnie Mandella is a spiritual model for all of South Africa.

A few years ago I was a keynote speaker at Vanderbilt University at a conference convened by the late Kelly Miller Smith, Associate Dean of the Divinity School of Vanderbilt University. The conference theme was: "The Black Male in Religious Context." The focus of my presentation was, "Genetics may Determine Gender but Agenda Determines the Quality of Manhood and Womanhood."

Dr. Howard Thurman said to me at a critical moment in my life, "Whatever determines how you feel on the inside can control your life." Whoever (or whatever) controls the BLACK FAMILY AGENDA will interpret our past, control our present and direct our future. We have convened this Conference on the Black Family in order that we might share in the composition of an agenda of survival and arrival at our highest potential, along lines of excellence with the redeeming qualities of faith, hope and love.

We must develop an agenda whose substance and purpose will produce an atmosphere that proclaims and actualizes the concept that we belong to each other. We are neither Motherless, Fatherless, Childless nor Friendless — We Are Family.

We have convened this conference around the principle that "We belong to each other," and in this interdependence, The Black Family and The Black Church are the unifying and stabilizing forces for struggle, stride and fulfillment.

In the Old Testament tradition the family is the foundation for the nation. In the New Testament tradition the family housed the church before there was a church-house. If we lose our parents (spiritually and ethnically) we lose our past. If we lose our neighbor we lose our present. If we lose our children we lose our future. We must affirm against all odds — WE ARE FAMILY.

It is with abiding appreciation that I acknowledge the outstanding work of Dr. Janice Hale-Benson, Conference Coordinator; City Council President, George Forbes; Dr. Arthur Naparstek, Dean, School of Applied Social Sciences, Case Western Reserve University; Mr. William A. Kerrigan, Executive Vice President and Chief Professional Officer of United Way

Services; Dr. Richard McArdle, Dean, School of Education, Cleveland State University; the Advisory Committee; Think Tank participants; presenters of position papers and a team of renown scholars and leaders who have given us the benefit of their experience, research and service.

This conference would not be possible if the Olivet Institutional Baptist Church had not given its prayerful and unanimous endorsement to my recommendation in our annual meeting in December, 1984. Olivet adopted this proposal as a part of our mission and ministry. To the Olivet membership we say "thank you" with special acknowledgement and appreciation to our loyal and efficient office staff.

Janice Hale-Benson, Ph.D.
College of Education
Cleveland State University
Conference Coordinator

Profile of Dr. Janice Hale-Benson

Dr. Janice Hale-Benson is an Associate Professor and Coordinator of Early Childhood Education Programs at Cleveland State University, Cleveland, Ohio. Her research is in the area of cross-cultural cognitive psychology. She has devoted her career to identifying distinctive learning styles of Black children that if complemented will enhance their achievement and intellectual development. She has written numerous articles in psychology and early childhood education. She is the author of a book, Black Children: Their Roots, Culture and Learning Styles, published by Brigham Young University Press in 1982.

Dr. Hale-Benson is a popular lecturer and has served as a speaker and consultant to numerous colleges, professional organizations and school districts across the United States and the Caribbean. She has been the recipient of grants to conduct research and study in West Africa and Switzerland. She has been the recipient of numerous honors such as having been named Distinguished Alumna of the School of Education at Georgia State University in 1982 and by Ebony Magazine as one of 50 future leaders in its August 1978 issue on the New Generation.

A Word from the Conference Coordinator

The purpose of The Conference on the Black Family is to conduct a summit around issues that are critical to the survival and development of the Afro-American family in the 1980's.

The Black family has been remarkably resilient throughout the history of the African experience in America in adapting to the most brutal form of slavery in the history of the world. Even after slavery ended, oppression was continual, the forms merely changed. Even though the Black family has at times been a fragile institution which has lived a precarious existence, always affected profoundly by the economic and social forces in the larger society, it has prevailed and fulfilled its functions. The Black family and the Black church have worked hand in hand as the only two institutions in the Black community that have consistently supported and nurtured Black people throughout their sojourn in America.

However, each era in American history brings new challenges to Black Americans. Each new challenge suggests the need to "circle the wagons," reflect, and seek new directions.

There is a need to analyze social trends and formulate strategies as individuals, as families, as churches, and as communities.

There are economic challenges confronting Black Americans. As always, Black men are carrying the brunt of this burden. Unemployment for Black males under the age of 25 is 48%. One out of three Black males in urban areas is addicted to drugs. Black males comprise the largest proportion of functional illiterates and reflect the lowest academic achievement. They also comprise the largest proportion of the prison population. We find that Black males are disproportionately represented in the prison population. We find that Black males are disproportionately represented in the armed forces and have a disproportionate number of fatalities in armed conflict.

This systematic destruction of the Black man (which has been continual throughout Black history in America) has far-reaching effects on the Black family. We can see the effects in the increase in single-parent families headed by Black women (12% among white women; 48% among Black women). We can see the effects in unwed teenage pregnancies. We can see the effects in tensions in male/female relationships.

An historical source of strength in the Black community has historically been the Black extended family. However, modern mobility patterns have weakened those networks. Also, the increase in teenage pregnancy on one end and increased longevity on the other end of the lifespan have placed more pressure on that fragile institution. A summit on the Black family is clearly called for.

At a moment in history when the broader society is celebrating a decline in interest rates, and the rise of yuppie culture which spawns values associated with accumulation of wealth, possessions and individual success, it seems appropriate for the Black community to take time out to consider an agenda of self-help, misguided public policies and strengths of our families and culture that are reflected in the current research of Black family scholars but not widely disseminated by the media.

A product of this conference will be an edited volume of the papers presented which will be disseminated to all conference participants and other interested individuals and organizations.

Thank God that Rev. Otis Moss, Jr. is in Cleveland. We are blessed to have a man of his vision among us. I am grateful to everyone who put aside busy schedules to contribute to the success of this conference. I would like to especially acknowledge Deborah Hardin of United Way Services who went far beyond the call of duty in rendering service to this cause. Grateful acknowledgement must also be given to Lanette Okantah, Cleo Hale, and Denise Perez for the transcription of tapes and editing of the papers in this volume.

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Part I
Keynote Speeches

The Black Family

by Andrew Billingsley, Ph.D., The University of Maryland, College Park

Proposition I

The Black Church has in the past and can in the future provide an amazing support system for the Black family. The Black church is the rock; the foundation stone on which the Black Family has been able to survive and prosper.

Proposition II

Education is a key to the survival and the upward mobility of Black people and the school along with the church have been two of the most preeminent institutions in helping the Black family to survive and to develop.

Proposition III

The economy plays an indispensible preeminent role in helping Black families to be strong so that if you see a Black Family here and there not quite strong enough to make it, not quite strong enough to meet the needs of their children and their other members in the requirements of their society. Look not to the family alone and ask "what's happening?" Look to the wider society and especially to the economy and ask "How well is the economic system working? How well is it working for all the people? How well is it working for white people? How well is it working for minorities? How well is it working for poor people? How well is it working for Black people?" And if you see that the economic system is not working well, you will have a clue to why families are having difficulties. And you will have a clue to your role and mission as citizens, not only to advise individuals how to be strong in the family way, not only to urge the school and the church to do their job, but to work hard to change the economic system so that it works better, in a fairer way, a more effective way for Black people. And then Black families will have a chance to be strong like other families are strong.

Proposition IV

It is the political system which makes it possible for the economic system and the school system to work well. The political system is an important instrument for strengthening Black families. In our history in contemporary society it is a periodic rejuvenation of political empowerment on our part that enables us to take a few steps forward and to enhance the quality of life for our families and our children. It is especially touching to be in Cleveland and to mention this political empowerment for in my very first book on Black families in white America, I was very inspired by the impetus you had given here in Cleveland in electing the first Black mayor of a major American city. So political empowerment continues to be an important ingredient to our success.

Proposition V

Proposition VI is the Black church again. For in Proposition V, I suggest it is the Black church that has the capacity for putting the whole program together. That is why I'm so delighted that you have joined together with Olivet Institutional Baptist Church to put on this family conference to suggest that this is a family working toward a new beginning on ways of helping the whole American society understand and appreciate the history, the struggles and the remarkable achievement of Black families with the hope that the rest of the society can learn from that experience, can learn things in ways to make the whole society a more human and humane and caring society.

Well that's my speech, but I have a few more minutes left, so I want to say some of the things that I had planned to say today . . .

What is Africa to me?
Copper sun and scarlet sea
jungle star and jungle track
Strong bronzed men
Or regal Black women
From whose loins I sprang
When the birds of Eden sang.
One, three centuries removed
From the scene his fathers loved,
Spicy grove, cinnamon tree,
What is Africa to me?

As we assemble here today, more than a half century after Countee Cullen wrote that poem, the answer to the question is clear to us in this room, even if it is not clear, yet to American scholars in general. What is Africa to the Afro-American people? It is the cradle of civilization. Africa is context. It is background; it is heritage. Africa is the source of our Afro-American culture. Alex Haley has taught us that in "Roots". Our roots he said are planted in Africa. Where Kunte Kinte, a teenage boy, just recently christened into manhood was out gathering wood one day in the early 1700's when he was captured and sold into slavery to begin a saga of a people whose story became in the 1970's American television's finest hours. Indeed the television portrayal of "Roots" was the finest hour in all of American television history in its portrayal of Black people and therefore it's portrayal of an important part of humanity that most people did not know about. It was almost ten years later before television had the courage to do it again. It is the "Bill Cosby Show" which has the daring to portray the positive aspects, the achieving aspects, as well as the daily trials and tribulations of Black families in white America. Television does have once in a while the courage to do something right.

But it is not easy; life is not easy and what we learn from our heritage in Africa is that life, because it is so worthwhile, is a struggle. We learn that also from our own Frederick Douglass who taught us that if it is not a struggle, it's not a part of Black life and Black achievement. For those, he says, who profess to favor freedom and yet deprecate agitation, are men who want crops without plowing up the ground. They want rain without thunder and lightening. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its waters. Struggle and don't we know what that's all about.

What is Africa to me? Africa is Chief Albert Latule, Dr. Ralph Johnson Bunche, Dr. Martin Luther King, and Bishop Desmond Tutu, all Africans, all winners of the Nobel Peace Award. Africa, then, is struggle, and freedom and dedication to peace. Africa is family. Vincent Harding says that Africa is like a river, like a river that flows with a message of freedom through all aspects and all eras of the modern world. Now you know what a river is:

I've known rivers, too, ancient, dusty rivers
And my soul has grown deep like the rivers

Langston Hughes sings on:

I've bathed in the Euphrates when dawns were young
I built my hut near the Congo and it lulled me to sleep
I looked upon the Nile and it raised the pyramids above it
I heard the singing of the Mississippi, when old Abe Lincoln
Went down to New Orleans
And I've seen its muddy bosom turn all golden in the sunset
I've known rivers, ancient, dusty rivers my soul has grown deep
Like the rivers,

Africa is the river of freedom that flows throughout civilization. For as quiet as it's kept and as loudly as we proclaim we are an African people, we who are Black, it is also true that all of us are African people. For Africa is not only our home, it is the birthplace of civilization itself. But if there were no Africa, there'd be no Bill Cosby Show, there'd be no Leontyne Price, no Duke Ellington, no Wynton Marsalis, no Arthur Ashe, no Janice Hale-Benson, no Olivet Baptist Church, no Black families in white America. No Jesse Jackson, no nothing. Africa is civilization, itself. Now Leopold Senghor has said that Africa is an elan a deep, spiritual quality which seeks community with others and elan which will be found wherver African people have been scattered around the world. Langston Hughes says that Africa is sun and softness; sun and the beaten hardness of the earth; sun and the song of all the sunstars gathered together. So I bring my songs to sing on the Georgia road. That is Africa. That is our heritage.

So you wonder why Black people could sit still in the middle of the 1960's and allow white social scientists to define us in the best of their scholarship as follows:

"The negro," said Moynihan and Glazer, "is only an American and nothing else. He has no culture, no history, no values, to guard and protect" . . 1963 by the leading social scientists. Now let me tell you that they were not trying to be mean to us, or unkind in expressing what were the best insights available to them in social science. They were trying to be nice to us. They were trying to say that well, we who are Americans have made them what they are, because after all, you don't have any history, apart from us. They had a little bit of help in that process by some of the works of E. Franklin Frazier who had tried very hard to say that all of this Africa stuff that I've been talking about for an hour, had been wiped away. Frazier said "Africa had ceased to exist in the experience of Black people in this country because slavery was so cruel, so harsh it wiped out all of that." Frazier was correct in one sense, slavery did indeed try to wipe out all of that as we shall see in a minute. It did not succeed. So when social scientists began to look at what Blacks are about they concluded that they are "made in America," and we made them what they are. And they proceeded to try to help persuade us to forget that we were an African people.

We were fortunate that in the beginning of the early 70's a number of black scholars including some of my students, began to show the nation a new aspect of Black people, a new aspect of American slavery, a new aspect of Africa, and a new aspect of America, itself. For they discovered in the 1970's that indeed slavery did not crush all of the African influence on Black people, indeed slavery did not crush the Black family. For until I wrote *Black Families In White America*, in 1968, the prevailing rhythm was that the Black family had been destroyed by slavery and whatever fragments of the Black family might happen to exist were created after that. But now we know a different reality, don't we? They have learned that slavery did not crush the Black family. It survived. The Black family survived one of the most cruel and inhuman systems of bondage.

Have we learned from those scholars who tell us now that the Black family did indeed survive? It is not enough to know that the Black family survived, the question is "how did it survive?" What made it possible for Black people to create family in the midst of this holocaust? How was it possible for a people who were scattered from their homeland, taken away from their relatives, their people, their language to survive? How was it possible to create the institution of the family? Well, the scholars differ on this question. One set of scholars whose names are Fogel and Engleman did a massive study a few years ago called "Time On The Cross". They did a study on slavery and they concluded that while the Black family did indeed survive slavery, the Black family did exist during slavery. The reason for that was because the owners of the slaves allowed them to have families because it was in their economic best interest to do so. It was in the economic interest of the plantation owners to allow people to live together as families because they discovered that they were more productive, they were happier, they felt more a part of things. Since they were more productive he could get more money out of them. Not only that, but if they were families, they could have children and he could have more slaves to sell on the market. So the economic interest of the slave owners, says Fogel and Engelman, is the reason Black families survived slavery.

Another scholar, Eugene Genovese, did a massive study of slavery. He has a book called, *"Roll, Jordan Roll."* He concluded all this about Black people in the Black church, Black religion and so forth, it was a fantastic volume. He said, "after all is said and done, the economic interest was there but the reason the Black family survived was because the masters at heart were Christians and humanitarians. They, therefore, allowed a modicum of opportunities for slaves to have families because they knew that that was in line with their Christianity. Some Christians!

There's still another answer to this question of how did the Black family survive. The Black historian, John Blasingame and another white historian named George Warwick have taken a look at this matter. They have concluded, "all of these things may be important, but there was something Black people did themselves to create these new family forms. True, their African family had been destroyed by slavery, true they were not permitted to have the kind of family the white people had, true there was oppression all around, but nevertheless, they did it, and they did it because of their own African heritage and tradition, their own longing for a sense of belonging; their commitment to family life, their own sense of a transcendence of things present."

Gutman has written a book called, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom* which documents how the family did indeed survive and he agrees with this business about the Blacks doing for themselves. One time when he came to visit us, at Morgan, Professor Gutman (who died a few weeks ago, unfortunately an untimely death), explained to me that he was just very pleased to be at this Black university because there were Black people and Black scholars who took Black

families and Black life seriously . . In his experience in most of the white universities where he taught, they didn't. He said one of the things wrong with white scholarship about Black people is that it is mostly about what white people have done to Black people. It's not about Black people at all its about what white people have done to Black people. Secondly, he said that there's a certain amount of scholarship about what white people have done for Black people. First what white people have done to Black people, then what white people have done for Black people. Very, very little of that scholarship is about what Black people did for themselves. What he encouraged me to remind us about is that even less is ever written about what Black people did for the larger society. In maintaining families in the midst of impossible odds, Black people not only made contributions to themselves, but to the larger society as well. How did they do it? They pulled on their basic Africanness. They pulled on their basic humanity. They pulled on their longing for a sense of belonging and relatedness to the universe.

Dr. Robert Hill, another Black scholar, reminds us that they did it because of their strong religious orientation. Their strong work orientation. Their strong capacity to adapt to the conditions of life around them. So as the Black family developed, it developed patterns and structures that were sometimes different than other patterns and structures of families around us. It didn't always look exactly like small nuclear families of European orientation. Indeed, tears came to my eyes as Rev. Moss described that family situation where the lady was not related to them by blood, who took them in. That's the augmented family. When you go back and re-read my book, you will see that I described all these different types of families. When I revise it (which I'm doing now), I'm going to have even more of this . . . of this Black family. For you see, as the Black people created family, they created a family to meet the conditions of life and to meet the needs of their members. They created in no other person's image except what was required.

What is it then, as I close, that makes families strong? Well, a family is strong if it is able to meet the needs of its members and if it is able to meet the requirements of society. What are these requirements of the family to meet the needs of its members? There are two kinds of functions families must perform. One I call instrumental functions. The other I call expressive functions. By instrumental functions, I mean the family has to help meet the basic needs of its members: food, clothing, shelter, health care, safety. Those are the instrumental functions required of families. A family can only meet those functions, those needs of its members if it gets the kind of help we need from the larger society. Then their expressive functions the family has to meet. The family has to provide its members a sense of pride, love, affection, direction on how to get along with people, ambition. Black families have historically provided these resources for their families even without the resources other people take for granted. But it will help families provide these functions better if they are provided with the aid of the larger society, from the economic system, the educational system, and set of positive relations with peers. It is both external and internal and there are things that we must do ourselves.

Let me close with a story written in a book called, *The Destruction of African Civilization* by Professor Chancellor Williams at Howard University. Professor Williams was trying to answer the question "what happened to these major civilizations in Africa?" that he knew about, we knew about as black people but a lot of other people didn't know about, an ancient Africa before the coming of the Europeans as Africa advanced in knowledge, culture, institutions at a very advanced level. There were important modern cities, and so on. Then they were destroyed, so he wanted to know how, what happened? So he went over there and spent eight years studying all sorts of museums in communities and talking to old people and so on. He concluded that there were three factors that helped to destroy these ancient civilizations. One factor was the environment. The environment helped to destroy these civilizations. A lot of things about the environment, the weather, the desert, the expanding desert, for example helped to destroy some of these civilizations, the forest and so on — the environment.

The second factor that helped to destroy these civilizations were invasions from the enemy without the gates. Outsiders from the north, the Berbers and the Arabs came in, invaded, captured and destroyed these ancient Black civilizations. But finally he concluded there was a third force which helped to destroy these civilizations and that was internal among the people themselves. Bickering, jealousy, crabs-in-the-barrel. Pulling each other down. Tearing each other apart; a lot of negativism. A lot of negative speeches about what's wrong with people. All this internal negativism helped to destroy these ancient civilizations along with the invasions and along with the weather.

Now, I thought that was a very perceptive set and a very instructive set of analysis for us as black people today. For my experience, I'm a little older than most people, and you may not have had this experience, but in my exrperience we have all three of those forces operating in our world, in our society in our experience, today. Now, I'm sure that is not true in Olivet

Baptist Church or in the United Way, and so on. And I'm sure it's not true at Morehouse College where both Rev. Moss and Dr. Grant come from, but I was president at a Black college in Maryland and I'll tell you a secret. We had all of those forces operating against us. We had the environment which is hostile toward us. We had a certain amount of raids coming in from the outside, invasions trying to take over resources and quiet as it's kept, we had there, unlike you in Cleveland, we had there some internal bickering, lack of cooperation, back-biting, crabs-in-a-barrel. I suggest that if you should happen to go to a town that has any of those forces, reflect on the fact that we have a lot of work to do inside our own community — to pull things together, to pull ourselves together.

But I didn't tell you the end of the story that Chancellor Williams told, that's not the end of his story. The end of his book reminds us what he found when he continued his research, that hundreds of years after these kingdoms perished, they rose again. He'd find a new city, a new culture, and new civilization somewhere with all of the elements of the one that supposedly died hundreds of years before. He says, "isn't that a marvelous capacity of the African people to rejuvenate their culture, to rejuvenate their institutions, to rejuvenate themselves, to rejuvenate civilization, itself." That ought to encourage us. If we've done it before during Africa, if we did it during slavery, even though the modern times are rough, the economy is terrible, the government in Washington has taken a bad turn since Minter left and came out here to Cleveland. Things look so bleak, but we've had tough times before. We have withstood, and survived, and as the man says on the block, "we have overcame." So we can do it again, especially if we have the leadership of the church, and if we have the schools doing their jobs better, and if we have the economic system made to work better for us and if we have the church helping to put all those things together including the political system, and it will happen as Langston Hughes says "because we will do it ourselves." And you are leading the way by sponsoring this conference and inviting us to come out and share it with you.

Thank you very much.

Black Men's Perceptions of Their Problems: Implications for the Family*

by Lawrence E. Gary, RN, Ph.D., *Director,* Institute for Urban Affairs and Research, Howard University.

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to examine some of the day-to-day concerns and problems of Black men and to discuss the implications of their concerns for Black families. In recent years, considerable attention has been given to the dominant role played by men in the United States (Bell, 1982; Lewis, 1981; Pleck, 1981). Because of the way in which our society is structured, it is argued that men receive an unfair share of its benefits. However, for Black men, racism has negated the so-called male advantage (Gary, 1981; Staples, 1978). Gary and Leashore (1982) reviewed government statistics and social indicators on income, heath, employment and so forth; and they demonstrated that compared to white men, Black men are at risk in the American society. For example, Black men have higher morbidity and mortality rates, experience greater unemployment, earn less, and have higher rates of incarceration and criminal victimization than do white men. These circumstances have crippling consequences for the mental health and the families of Black men and on the quality of life in Black communities.

When the well-being of Black men is threatened, the entire Black community is at risk. According to Haki Madhubuti (1981, p. 31):

> Properly functioning Black families will produce healthy male-female relationships. . . . Doctrines of right and wrong, concepts of love and caring are family centered. Human values, spiritual and material, are first practiced and taught at a functional level by the family. The major social agency that any Black progressive movement (or nation) cannot do without is family.

This author implies that any serious study or examination of the status of Black men must view this issue within the context of Black family life.

Although writers have consistently used secondary data sources to document the high risk status of Black families, this paper will rely on primary data to examine how Black men see problems in their lives. The author plans to report on a study of 142 Black men who lived in a large northeastern metropolitan area in the United States. It is assumed in this paper that Black men play important and diverse roles in family life and that their day-to-day concerns and problems have important implications for the future of Black families.

Social Science Literature and Black Men

There has been extensive treatment of Black families in the literature of the social and behavioral sciences. Although researchers and practitioners have spent considerable time analyzing Black families, their studies often focus on women and their children. So little attention has been given to the Black father that he has been referred to as "the phantom of American family studies" (Cazenave, 1979). In fact, much of today's social programming and policies seem to be directed at mothers and their children. The author believes this is a mistake. When one places too much emphasis on one sector in a social system, it can create tensions in other sectors. In other words, program and policy decisions might be a causal factor in the decline in the quality of Black family life (Murray, 1984).

There are some scholarly works on Black men such as *Urban Blues* (Keil, 1966); *Nineteen Negro Men* (Rutledge & Gass, 1967); *Tally's Corner* (Liebow, 1967); *Soulside* (Hannerz, 1969); *Deep in the Jungle* (Abrahams, 1970); and *A Place on the Corner* (Anderson, 1978). While these works and others (Cazenave, 1983; Jackson, 1975; Staples, 1980) have helped us to gain a better understanding of the role of Black men in families and their communities, they have many shortcomings.

A review of the literature indicates the following problems: 1) there is a tendency to focus on pathology rather than strengths. The research question is usually what is wrong with Black families or Black men. Seldom is the question what is right with Black families or Black men; 2) there is a tendency to assume a common Black experience which results in the use of a comparative research paradigm. The research question is usually, how do Black families or men differ from white families or men. Seldom is the question, how do families differ within the context of Black communities. Or do religious Black men function in their families the same as nonreligious Black men? Or do low income Black families differ from high income Black families? 3) most studies focus on the Black man's absence

more than his presence in his family. Related to this problem is a tendency to collect information from the mother and children regarding the role performance of the men in their families; 4) inadequate sampling procedures are another deficiency in the literature on Black men. In too many cases, researchers have used samples where poor Black men are overrepresented. Moreover, many samples are drawn from captive subjects, especially prisoners, students, mental patients, welfare recipients, etc. As a result, there is very little information on the non-institutionalized Black male adult; and 5) finally, researchers have used exploratory designs and few of them have employed multivariate techniques in data analysis. Other deficiencies can be noted but that is beyond the scope of this paper (Gary, 1981; Gary & Leashore, 1982).

The research reported in this paper does not attempt to respond to all of the deficiencies in the literature on this subject. It is important to note, however, that the research is based on data collected from Black men. Subjects were non-institutionalized, that is, they were not captive participants. Some of the subjects lived in families, some were young and some were old. Thus, the data were collected from a diverse group of Black men, and the focus is on these men's perceptions of their problems and concerns.

Data and Methods

Because of the general problem of securing "non-captive" Black males for social science research purposes, a variety of techniques were used to recruit subjects. The techniques were as follows: 1) sampling through the use of a list of computer generated random telephone numbers; 2) posted announcements in selected barbershops; and 3) referrals by respondents. Out of a pool of 150 respondents who were 18 years of age or older, 142 agreed to participate.

The age range was from 18 to 65 years, with the median age being 33 years. Thirty-three percent of the respondents were married, 21 percent were formerly married, and 46 percent were never married. With respect to education, 50 percent had received more than 12 years of education, while one-fourth each had received either 12 years or less than 12 years of education. Thirty-eight percent of the respondents had annual family incomes below $10,000; 44 percent had incomes between $10,000 and $24,999; and 18 percent had family incomes of $25,000 and above. See Table 1 for more information on the sample characteristics.

Personal interviews of approximately two hours were conducted by trained interviewers using facilities located at Howard University. The interview schedule consisted of open-ended and forced-choice type questions.

Table 1
Demographic Characteristics of the Sample

Characteristic		Sample f	Sample %
Age			
18 - 24		23	16
25 - 34		64	45
35 - 44		25	18
45 - 54		19	13
55 and over		11	8
	Total	142	100
Marital Status			
Married		46	33
Never Married		64	46
Separated		12	9
Divorced		17	12
	Total	139	100
Missing Data = 3[b]			
Education			
Less than 12 years		33	23
12 years		36	26
More than 12 years		73	51
	Total	142	100
Family Income			
Less than 6,000		20	16
6,000 - 9,999		29	22
10,000 - 14,999		20	16
15,000 - 24,999		37	28
25,000 and above		23	18
	Total	129	100
Missing Data = 13			
Employment Status			
Employed		91	65
Unemployed		30	22
Not in Labor Force		18[a]	13
	Total	139	100
Missing Data = 3			

The outcome variable for this study was problems as viewed by these Black male respondents. A problem was defined as anything that causes a person to feel unhappy, angry or upset or to have difficulty in living from day to day. The problems were classified into four types; 1) *Personal* — Those problems which focus on the individual. Included in this category are health problems, alcohol abuse, psychological difficulties such as fear or depression; 2) *Interpersonal* — Those problems which emphasize the individual's relationship with persons in his immediate and informal environments, i.e., family and friends; 3) *Economic* — Those problems which focus on inadequate income, economic survival issues, unemployment and underemployment; and 4) *Social* — Those problems which

involve human services, education and civil rights. Examples of these problems include racism and discrimination, lack of education, and police harassment. The demographic variables included age, marital status, employment status, family income, and educational status. Additional variables were identified from the problem categories.

Chi-square, t-test, analysis of variance, and multiple regression were used in analyzing the data in this study. Appropriate indexes were developed for selected variables to facilitate indices data analysis.

Results

Biggest Problems In Life Time

When the men were questioned as to what had been the "biggest problem" experienced personally during their lives, the most frequently mentioned problems were in the category of economic problems. Of the total sample, nearly one-third (31%) reported these as having been their biggest problems in life. Following these in order of their frequency were personal (26%); social, educational, or political (22%); and family interpersonal problems (21%). Frequencies for the biggest life problem are presented in Table 2.

Table 2
Frequencies for the Biggest Life Problems*

Type of Problem	f	%
Type I - Personal (e.g., health, drugs, impatience, inconsistent behavior	34	26
Type II - Interpersonal (e.g., relationships with mate, peers, and family)	27	21
Type III - Economic (e.g., inadequate income, economic survival, unemployment, job problems)	42	31
Type IV - Social (e.g., racism/discrimination, inadequate education, trouble with the law or police)	29	22

**Missing values not included.*

Marital status and income were significantly related to the biggest life problems. When the married and single men's responses were examined in relation to the first biggest problem, the distributions differed at the .05 level ($X^2 = .0267$, df = 1). Married individuals mentioned economic or employment difficulties first and personal problems second, while the single men most frequently reported interpersonal problems, with social problems second. In regard to biggest life-time problems reported according to income categories, interpersonal problems were the most frequent types mentioned by men having less than $8,000 yearly family income, while economic problems most often were reported by men having incomes of $8,000 or more per year. For the lower income group (n = 35), the rank order distribution of responses was interpersonal, personal, social, and economic. For the group at or above $8,000 annually (n = 95), the rank order of problems was economic, personal, social, and interpersonal. These distributions were significantly different at the .05 level ($X^2 = .0246$, df = 1). No significant differences were found when the biggest lifetime problems were examined by age, employment status and education.

Table 3
Mean Depression Scores and Demographic Variables

Variable	N	Mean	S D	Significance
Age	—			
Less than 30 years old	53	13.25	7.94	F = 3.06*
30 - 44 years old	47	10.96	8.80	df = 2/122
45 years old and over	25	8.52	6.63	p = .05
Marital Status	—			
Married	50	10.64	7.95	T = 2.81
Formerly Married	13	7.08	6.90	df = 2/119
Never been married	59	12.63	8.18	p = .06
Educational Status	—			
Less than high school	28	11.25	6.73	F = 1.64
High school	33	14.03	9.86	df = 3/121
Some college	23	10.44	8.40	p = .01
College graduate	41	10.05	7.23	
Family Income	—			
Less than $8,000	24	14.75	10.57	5 = 4.01**
$8,000 - $12,499	23	13.30	8.21	df = 3/109
$12,500 - $19,999	36	9.42	6.00	p = .01
$20,000 and above	30	8.63	6.37	
Household Size	—			
One	28	10.57	8.42	F = 4.29**
Two	25	11.56	7.20	df = 3/118
Three/four	41	9.10	7.80	p = .01
Five or more	28	15.93	8.24	

**Significant at p<.05*
***Significant at p<.01*

Personal Problems

These men did have some personal problems including health and psychological difficulties. Forty-eight percent of the total sample reported at least one illness over the past year. Twenty-two respondents (15%) reported having been hospitalized during the

past year. In addition, 29 percent of the subjects indicated that they had a chronic health problem. The two most frequently reported chronic problems were hypertension or high blood pressure (22%) and diabetes (10%). Others included back and knee problems, asthma, glaucoma, and obesity.

With reference to alcohol, approximately 82 percent of the sample reported that they had never had a drinking problem, while the remaining 18 percent reported that they had or were uncertain. Of those men who reported drinking during the past week (n = 103), 62 percent reported having drinks once or twice during the week, while 13 percent reported drinking three or more times; approximately 20 percent reported drinking nearly every day or once a day, and 5 percent twice a day or more. Among those who reported drinking one or more drinks a day, only one indicated that his drinking was out of control.

The respondents were asked to assess their present degree of happiness by responding to the following question: "taken all together, how would you say things are these days?" The choice of responses was very happy, pretty happy, or not too happy. Sixty percent of the men indicated that they were pretty happy, while approximately 20 percent, respectively, indicated that they were very happy or not too happy. When asked to compare their lives today with the way their lives were four or five years ago, approximately 38 percent of the sample reported they were happier in the past; and 32 percent reported that happiness with their present lives was about the same as it was in the past.

Data were collected on depressive symptomatology using the Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale (Radloff, 1977;, Roberts, 1980). It should be noted that this 20-item self-report scale was designed to measure depressive symptomatology and not to diagnose depression. The possible range of scores was 0 to 60 with more depressive symptoms being indicated by higher scores. Specifically, researchers have used scores of 16 and above to indicate the presence of depressive symptoms (Radloff, 1977:, Roberts, 1980). The results of the CES-D scale in this study indicated that 69 percent of the men scored less than 16, while the remaining 31 percent scored 16 or more. The mean score was 12.15 and the standard deviation was 8.44. The relationship between demographic characteristics and the CES-D scale is shown in Table 3. Seventeen of the 142 interviewed persons did not complete all of the CES-D items and were excluded from the analysis. The revised mean CES-D scores were 11.44. The data in Table 3 show that age (F (2,122) = 3.06, p .05), family income ($F(3,109)$ = 4.01, p .01), and household size ($F(3,118)$ = 4.29, p .01) were significantly related to depressive symptomatology among Black men. Depressed Black men were young with low incomes and lived in large households. Also, as shown in Table 4, unemployed men tended to be more depressed than those who were employed (t (120) = 2.41, p .02).

With reference to their lives in general, the men were asked whether they would like things to continue in much the same way as the present, or if they wished things would change in some or many ways. The majority (59%) indicated that they would like some changes, while 27 percent expressed a wish for many changes, and 14 percent wished things would continue in much the same way. Among the desired life changes, 39 percent of the responses (n = 118) were employment-related, e.g., better job and greater job security; 29 percent involved a desire for more money; the remaining 32 percent included wishes for additional education, purchasing a home, and improvements in relationships with women as well as others.

Table 4

Mean Depression Scores and Stressful Life Events

Variable	N	Mean	S D	Significance
Employment Status	—			t = 2.41*
Employed	85	10.16	7.61	df = 120
Unemployed	37	13.97	8.89	p = .02
Mobility	—			
No moves	57	11.49	7.83	F = 1.54
One/two moves	35	10.00	7.78	df = 3/116
Three moves	17	12.06	9.58	p = .21
Four or more moves	11	16.00	8.54	
Conflict Between Sexes	—			
Low	32	6.72	4.82	F = 8.07***
Medium	24	14.21	9.48	df = 2/75
High	22	12.23	7.46	p = .001
Number of Arrests	—			
None	65	11.06	8.28	F = .87
One to four	45	111.31	7.82	df = 2/118
Five or more	11	14.55	8.96	p = .42
Number of Illnesses	—			
None	62	10.52	8.01	F = .60
One	46	12.52	8.45	df = 2/120
Two or more	15	11.53	7.86	p = .45

*Significant at p<.05
**Significant at p<.001

Interpersonal Problems

As was discussed earlier, these types of problems emphasized informal relationships with family

members or friends. This paper will focus on the respondents relationships with their mates. Each respondent was presented a series of items about which couples sometimes agree or disagree. The men were then asked to indicate whether or not each item had been a problem for him and his mate or spouse during the past few weeks. Of the 13 items presented, no single item was reported as a problem for the majority of the men. However, the most frequently reported problems were: irritating personal habits, the respondent being away from home too much, how to spend leisure time, and the time spent by the respondent with his friends. The least mentioned problems were: the mate or spouse being away from home too much, the time spent by the mate or spouse with his/her friends, religion, and the disciplining of children. Table 5 presents the frequency distributions for each of the 13 items. The data show that conflict between the sexes was significantly related to depressive symptoms among these men. See Table 4. In other words, those men who had a great deal of conflict with their mates tended to have a large number of depressive symptoms.

Economic Problems

Several questions related to income and employment were asked in order to explore this type of problem. With reference to income from current employment, the men were asked to compare this income with the income they felt could be obtained from other jobs they could get. Among the 88 men for whom data were ascertained, 28 percent felt that their present income was below average, 32 percent felt it was about average, and 40 percent felt it was above average.

In addressing job satisfaction, the men were asked about the extent to which they were bored or unhappy with their jobs. Nearly half (47%) of the men (n=88) stated that they were bored or unhappy sometimes, while 29 percent were not bored or unhappy, and 24 percent were bored or unhappy most or all of the time. However, 70 percent stated that they were satisfied with their jobs and 30 percent were not.

Of those who reported having a supervisor (n=88), approximately two-thirds reported that they got along very well, while one-third did not. In the context of work groups, 46 percent of the men (n=80) felt very much a part of such groups, while 35 percent only sometimes felt that they were a part of their work group(s), and 19 percent did not feel that they were a part of the group(s).

Regarding job security, approximately two-thirds of the men (n=90) felt that their jobs were secure, with the remaining one-third indicating that they did not feel this way. The men were also asked whether or not in the past few months they wished that they could do some other kind of work (n=89). Sixty-five percent stated that they had felt this way and 35 percent had not. Finally, the men were asked whether or not they had looked for another job since being on their present one (n=89). The majority (58%) reported that they had and 42 percent had not looked for another job.

Table 5
Frequency Distribution of Problems with Mate or Spouse *

Problem	Yes f	Yes %	No f	No %	Total f	Total %
Time spent with your friends	41	(37)	71	(63)	112	(100)
Time spent with her friends	11	(10)	101	(90)	112	(100)
Keeping the house neat	27	(28)	70	(72)	97	(100)
Your being away from home too much	39	(40)	58	(60)	97	(100)
Her being away from home too much	8	(8)	91	(92)	99	(100)
Disciplining children	13	(14)	82	(86)	95	(100)
In-Laws/her family	18	(19)	78	(81)	96	(100)
Not showing love	21	(19)	90	(81)	111	(100)
Your job	34	(32)	72	(68)	106	(100)
How to spend leisure time	42	(38)	68	(62)	110	(100)
Religion	14	(12)	98	(88)	112	(100)
Irritating personal habits	46	(41)	65	(59)	111	(100)

N/A and missing values excluded

Social Problems

The respondents were asked several questions related to racism, education and the police. When asked about the existence of racism on their jobs, 56 percent of the men (n=77) stated that it did exist, while 44 percent stated that it did not. It should be noted that 64 percent of the men (n=69) indicated that the race of employees and supervisors was mostly or at least half Black, with 36 percent reporting that they were mostly whites.

The men were also asked whether or not their lack of education had hampered them. Of the total sample, 38.7 percent (n=55) of the men responded that their education had hampered them in life. The leading explanation for this response was the subjects' perceived need for more education (e.g., college degree, or high school diploma) followed by the lack of job opportunities and/or advancement, inadequate income, and being over qualified (college graduates), respectively. Less frequently mentioned was the impact of education on their own attitudes, skills and life goals in that order.

Finally, the men were asked whether or not they had been subjected to police harassment. For the 139

men responding to this item, 34.5 percent (n = 48) indicated that they had at some time experienced police harassment and 63 percent indicated that they had not. For those men who responded positively to the question of police harassment, the most frequent descriptor for the nature of the incident was verbal abuse. The second most frequent responses were physical brutality and traffic violations of a questionable nature. In their ranked order of occurrence, false arrest, illegal searches, trespassing, and noise complaints from other citizens were other events leading the subjects to perceive themselves as having been harassed by the police. The average number of incidents of harassment reported was 2.98 or nearly three per respondent.

Discussion and Conclusion

The day-to-day concerns and problems of Black men have a direct bearing on family life. Most Black men are attached to families so when there are problems in their lives, their families will feel their impact. For example, the relatively high morbidity rate (sickness) reported by these men will have a direct impact on their emotional health and that of their family members. When a man is ill, he finds it difficult to fulfill his customary roles and obligations to his family. Poor health on the part of Black men can have multiple effects on the family and set into motion other stressful life events such as marital conflict, sexual difficulties, changes in personal habits and social activities.

In many ways, these problems in personal, interpersonal, economic and social may be viewed as life stressors and the data show such stressors can cause serious illnesses. In general, there is ample research literature to indicate that increasing amounts of change in one's life (e.g., death of spouse, divorce, residential move, arrests, in-law problems, financial problems) are predictive of depression (Dohrenwend & Dohrenwend, 1981; Paykel, 1979; Rabkin & Struening, 1976). It is assumed that the more changes a person must make, the more psychological adjustment is necessary. In addition, the more adjustment becomes necessary, the greater the stress on the individual leading to a variety of psychiatric and other types of illnesses (Holmes & Rahe, 1967). In examining social roles that are considered problematic or undesirable, Ilfeld (1977) found that these role circumstances accounted for more than 25 percent of the variance in the level of depressive symptoms. In comparison, selected demographic variables such as age, sex, marital status and income accounted for only 8 percent of the variance. In their analysis of the relationship between depression scores and life change events, Markush and Favero (1974) reported that for Blacks, the strongest association occurred for low-educated Black men between the ages of 35 to 54 years. Moreover, using data from a sample of drug abusers, including 277 Black males, Borus and Senay (1980) found that elevated depressive scores were the results of acute life stress.

Although there is considerable disagreement on how to measure stressful life events, data consistently show that physical illnesses can contribute to the onset of depression (Dohrenwend & Dohrenwend, 1981). For example, in their study of correlates of depression in older adults, Murrell and his colleagues (1983) concluded that by far the strongest relationship was with physical illness. Significant numbers of the subjects who reported illnesses such as kidney or bladder disease, heart trouble, lung trouble, hardening of the arteries and stroke were above the depression cut-off point. A number of studies in recent years have also examined the relationship between economic trends and mental health. There is a consistent finding that the unemployed are more likely to be depressed than are persons who work (Brenner, 1973). In their review of social indicators and psychiatric illnesses, Rosen, Goldsmith and Redlick (1979) suggest that persons who have high levels of contact with the criminal justice system and who are very mobile are high risk groups for a variety of mental disabilities. Both U.S. census data and reports from the U.S. Department of Justice indicate that a greater proportion of Black men fit these characteristics than do white men (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1981).

In recent years, there have been some discussion of the need to study not only major life events, but also minor events as they impact on mental health. For example, Kanner and his colleagues (1981) compared major life events with relatively minor events (or daily hassles) in predicting psychological symptoms. They defined hassles as "irritating, frustrating, distressing demands that to some degree characterize everyday transactions with the environment" (p. 3). Examples of life hassles are status incongruity between spouses, sex role conflict, demands of children and aged parents, work overload and underload and role ambiguity. They discovered that hassles were a better predictor of psychological symptoms than were life events; and when the life events scores were controlled for, the relationship between hassles and symptoms remained significantly correlated. These findings suggest in studying family stress, it is necessary to analyze both minor and major life events.

The data reported here indicate that among those Black men who experienced considerable conflict with their mates, there was a tendency for them to report a high level of depressive symptoms. Some of the anti-social or deviant behavior, such as excessive drinking, drug abuse, suicide attempts and violence, which are prevalent in the Black community, may be a manifestation of the level of family conflict which many Black men are experiencing in their daily lives (Gary & Leashore, 1982; Staples, 1978; Stewart & Scott, 1978).

There is some evidence that some Black men are beginning to bring their interpersonal and family

problems to the attention of mental health practitioners. For example, Jones and his colleagues (1982) conducted a survey of psychiatrists who were treating Black men. They found that the major presenting problems were depression, work difficulties, problems relating to others, family difficulties, anxiety and marital conflict, respectively. The data in this study seem to support their findings. This research shows that family conflict and depression were significantly related to each other. According to Jones, et al. (1982), the Black male patients in psychotherapy were typically married and 31 to 40 years of age.

In order to develop programs and policies for improving family life in the Black community, conceptual clarity is needed as to what is the problem and what causes the problem. The familiar rationale for the decline in family life — white racism — is not adequate. It is important for us to begin to identify resources within our communities and to assist all sectors in their role performance. It is also important for us to recognize the diversity within the Black community and learn how to use this diversity for problem resolution. More consideration has to be given to strengthening the role of men in families in order to stabilize Black families.

In this regard, Black churches, fraternities and sororities, and civic organizations need to sponsor programs which focus on health behavior, management of interpersonal relationships, career development, value clarification, personal development, and crisis management. These suggestions are not exhaustive. In developing these community education programs, emphasis should be placed on racial ideology, spirituality, community activism, social networks and friends and communication skills. What is being suggested is that more male bonding is a necessary first step in preparing young Black men for adult roles. Boys and girls need to see Black men sit down and discuss substantive issues. In a recent article, "The Value of Older Men, Fruit of the Loom and Snoring," Campbell (1982) outlined the positive role of men in Black families. For the most part, strengthening Black family life must come from the heart and soul of committed Black people.

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Project *ADEPT As An Approach Toward The Prevention of Teenage Pregnancy

by James C. Young, *Ed.D.*, Georgia State University

The *Adolescent Development and Early Parent Training Program (ADEPT) has as its primary purpose the prevention of pregnancies among "high risk" adolescents (non-pregnant students, male and female 13 to 15 years of age) through increased self-awareness and the provision of systematic training in parenting skills for those adolescents who become pregnant. ADEPT features two major programmatic components: prevention activities and early intervention activities.

Prevention

The prevention aspects of the program are reflected in the first two words of the program's title: Adolescent Development. Entering eighth grade students, both male and female, receive a full year of focused educational experiences centering on the emotional, physical, and social developments attendant to entering adolescence, and the differential developments of human sexuality.

> ***Ryan (1971) stated:***
> The "problem" of illegitimacy is not due to promiscuity, immorality, or culturally-based variations in sexual habits; it is due to discrimination and gross inequities between black and white. It is the visible sign and outcome of a total pattern of inequality in the distribution of, and access to, significant resources.

> ***Kenney and Orr (1984) further state:***
> The need for sex education is confirmed by the fact that 36% of first pre-marital pregnancies occur in the first three months of sexual activity, before most of the young women have sought effective methods of contraception. Society has few ways of preventing unintended teenaged pregnancies. Sex education is one method that offers two great advantages: it can reach all young people before they become sexually active, and information can be provided to them at relatively low cost through the schools and other delivery systems.

Consistent with these positions, ADEPT programmatically places particular stress on prevention of pregnancy through self-awareness, and a full exploration and mastery of a series of topics detailing the contributing causes, consequences, and cures of teenage pregnancy. Students gain significant, specific knowledge about human sexuality, self-perception and concept, adolescent growth and development, interpersonal skills, dating, decision-making, responsibility, self-sufficiency, and group dynamics through a variety of "instructional and teaching strategies." For the students in these groups the experiences represent essentially new encounters and approaches. However, the methods employed have been tested and proven to be measurably successful during the pilot phases of ADEPT.

These activities represent an attempt to address what Ryan describes as unequal and inaccessible significant resources, specifically, information.

Early Intervention

The early intervention aspects of the program are suggested in the final words of the title: Early Parent Training. Students who do become pregnant are placed in parent training classes with primary emphasis on the transition to parenthood that is necessarily concurrent with the transition into adolescence of the prospective parent. Through early intervention pregnant teenagers are made aware of the need to comprehend and master parenting skills, child development information, child management skills, infant stimulation, language development and fundamental consumer education. And, as Stevens (1984) reports, social isolation of the mother must be given serious consideration as a confounding factor to the entire process.

As with the prevention component of ADEPT the early intervention activities are also directed at correcting the inequality in access to significant resources identified as a problem by Ryan (1971). In this case the significant resources also can be considered aggregately as information.

The ADEPT curriculum has been developed in modular fashion. There will be approximately 20 units that can be employed individually or in tandem in a variety of combinations and configurations which offer maximum replicability in the same, similar or markedly different settings in high schools facing the same or similar sets of problems.

Implementation of the curriculum for the fourth and final phase of ADEPT will take place in two high schools in metropolitan Atlanta, Georgia. Both schools serve what are among the largest concentrations of low income student populations coming from two of the most densely populated public housing communities in the city. Successful implementation of the curriculum will result in a body of students who are measurably better informed as to their development and sexuality, who manifest a lower pregnancy rate than has been historically experienced in these same communities, who have demonstrably mastered practical parenting skills, and who are knowledgeable about the various support systems that exist to facilitate their timely return to the classroom. An overriding and programmatically fundamental notion is that students who go through the ADEPT curriculum will realize and appreciate the value and advantages of the relationship between responsible decision making, delay of gratification, and success in school achievement. Additionally, it is expected that an awareness of the "connectedness" of these elements will cause students to better understand that sound decisions regarding their respective personae at this stage of growth and development will enhance their opportunities in the realization of personal independence and self-sufficiency. Evidence to support this understanding will be the development of effective student habits, improvements and consistency in personal grooming, and other observable prosocial behaviors.

The Overall Program

ADEPT was conceptualized and developed using the state-of-the-art of sex education techniques and concepts, the recommendations of the Guttmacher Research Institute (1981), and combined with the key elements gleaned from "model" programs in the document prepared by the Consortium on Early Childbearing and Childrearing, Washington, DC (1978). Careful study and analysis of findings from reported related studies have shaped the development and assisted in charting the direction and schedule of implementation activities for the entire program. Assessment has been conducted in relation to formative types of evaluation methodologies.

The goals of ADEPT are as follows:

1. To reduce the incidence and prevalence of pregnancies among the target population.

2. To train pregnant adolescents in parenting skills.

3. To improve students' self-image through modeling, attending classes, etc.

4. To enable young mothers to be more fully aware of the existence of and the utility of the various support systems/resources that exist for the enhancement and enrichment of the parent-child relationship.

5. To implement a "peer support system" through the student government association.

Each of these goals is strongly supported by the literature as well as by the experience of the investigator in working with adolescents over time.

Project ADEPT is an educational experience whose content provides a knowledge base and understanding of information for students who have been characterized as "high risk" adolescents. Among the unique features of the program, and one that reinforces its success potential is that it has been incorporated into the regular school curriculum with a minimum of in-house administrative chores and an absence of disruption.

The conceptual framework of ADEPT is based upon, but not limited to a set of postulates derived from sound theoretical principles concerning adolescent development, sexuality, and early pregnancy (Ambron, 1975; Conger, 1973; Erikson, 1968; Havighurst, 1952; Freud, 1969; Manaster, 1976; McCandless and Evans, 1973; LeFrancois, 1976; and Stone and Church, 1973). Those postulated concerning the needs of adolescents regarding development and early parenting are:

1. Adolescents need basic information in human development and sexuality.

2. Adolescents will benefit from information on human development and sexuality.

3. Adolescent can make decisions based upon sound information.

4. Adolescent mothers' development needs are different from those of their counterparts.

5. Adolescent mothers need a unique delivery system of educational and supportive services

6. Teen mothers will have available the collaborative benefits from a partnership formed by Georgia State University, the Atlanta Public Schools and the Fulton County Health Department.

7. Teen mothers need and want to resume their education.

8. Teen mothers need to be independent adults.

9. Teen mothers need to develop marketable occupational skills in order to become self sufficient.

10. Teen mothers need to develop "good" parenting skills.

11. Programs for teen parents (male) need counseling services.

12. Programs for teen parents (male) need parenting information.

13. Programs for teen parents (male) need basic information in human sexuality.

The postulates and the theoretical principles are framed again within the perspectives of African-American thought (Hilliard, 1976 & 1983; Wilson, 1978; Rashid, 1984; Nobles, 1980; Grant, 1983; Dill, 1976; Irvine and Irvine, 1983; Hale, 1982; McAdoo, 1981; Hill, 1972; Gurin & Epps, 1975; Edelman, 1978; Slaughter, 1982; and Young, J.C. and Hamilton, M.E. 1978; Young, J.C., 1981).

In addition to incorporating the developmental task, the recommendations from *11 Million Teenagers*, (1978), the important recommendations made in selected governmental documents, and selected writings (Alexander, 1982; Koblinsky, 1983; Young, 1983; and Height, 1985) the ADEPT approach is yet derived from other frames of reference: the adolescents's needs; the family's needs; the school's needs and the community's needs. All needs are interrelated and taken into account in arriving at a multi-dimensional focus to impact on the problem of adolescent pregnancy.

Special Features

As an approach to a social problem effecting disproportionate numbers of children and youth living in the web of poverty, an effort was made to deliver a program that incorporates as many elements as possible from other starred programs as well as to develop new or different strategies.

The following set of elements or characteristics have evolved over the life of the piloting phases (I-III) (1980-84).

Elements

1. Non-traditional program

2. Full school-year experience

3. Emphasis on adolescent development — issues and concerns

4. Strong emphasis on the "family"

5. Active parent involvement

6. Differentiated staffing

7. Accepted by the parents, community students and the school

8. Local support

9. New educational experiences/activities

10. Awards

Characteristics

A. The partnership between the university and the local school system enabled ADEPT to be developed, implemented, and integrated smoothly into the school curriculum.

B. ***Full School Year Experience.*** The program spans an entire school year with weekly instructional sessions. The modular format of the curriculum can be used in a variety of time configurations, i.e., semester, grading period, or supplement other instruction units.

C. ***Adolescent Development.*** The entire curriculum is centered around issues, problems, concerns and questions about the nature of the adolescent. The curriculum evolved from a review of relevant literature, the needs and interests of teenagers, and feedback from the community as well as the school principal.

D. ***Family Focused.*** Many urban poor children need to *connect* with their family. This is done through an *orientation* on strengths of African-American families, and ongoing exposure to books and writings of significant Black authors.

E. ***Parent Involvement.*** Parents are involved from the very beginning. They take part in an orientation prior to the school year, and quarterly receive information about activities of the program. Special workshops are conducted on a scheduled basis as well as when requested or suggested by parents.

F. ***Staffing.*** Students have weekly opportunities to engage with faculty and graduate students from two of the local colleges and universities. These individuals serve as role models for the students. The unique feature is that the instructional team members are all African-American role models, i.e., professors, doctoral students and other invited professionals.

G. ***Acceptance.*** From the beginning the program was introduced and presented to important participants — parents and students, principal, and teachers. Each group is giving full support to the project.

H. ***Local Support*.*** Funding has come from a variety of local sources. **See attached listing of funding sources.*

I. ***New learning experiences.*** In a non-threatening environment, students have opportunities to participate in group dynamic exercises, self expression through creative experiences, writing, painting, drawing, and weekly instruction pertaining to knowledge related to adolescent development and sexuality.

J. ***Awards.*** Students have opportunities during the program year to take part in activities where awards are given for essays, artistry, and oral presentations during Black History month and during the Week of the Black Child, sponsored annually by the National Black Child Development Institute. These experiences among others help these adolescents to develop a sense of self worth which contributes to success or failure in life.

The awards consist of certificates, pins, and other prizes given to outstanding work through written or oral expression.

In addition, each student is presented with a certificate from the Division of Continuing Education at Georgia State University in recognition of successful participation and completion of ADEPT.

Proposed Implementation, Evaluation and Dissemination

The general purpose of the program is to implement and evaluate the impact of ADEPT as an approach to reduce pregnancy among adolescents in the "high risk" category. The project will be conducted in the Atlanta Public Schools, specifically in two high schools that have been identified in communities serving adolescents homes that are poor. Over a three year period the entering students (eighth grade) will be involved in the demonstration program. These students will receive instructions and information pertaining to (a) adolescent development; (b) sexuality; (c) family life development; (d) health and nutrition; (e) self-concept; (f) self-sufficiency; (g) consumer education; (h) decision making models and (i) topics identified by the teenagers.

Basic knowledge and other pertinent information are provided through "hands on" experiences in regular classroom settings. In addition other learning comes through a variety of situation role playing, guest speakers, developing and presenting workshops for other peer groups, and parents of the students, and multi-media-type instruction as well as other useful techniques.

Delivery Mechanism.

Activities that will be systematically implemented and evaluated are the following:

a. A series of one-day work sessions for the faculty at each participating school. These training sessions will be of the preservice and in-service nature.

b. Four one-day training sessions for peer counselors, and other student leaders. These sessions will be conducted one per quarter.

c. Four half-day sessions for parents of the adolescents and other community participants will be conducted.

d. Ongoing sessions for both students and parents based upon needs or requests will be conducted.

e. Weekly instructional classes for each eighth grade class, respectively. The project staff will schedule regular classroom sessions to coincide with the normal classroom schedule of the high school. A regular classroom period of 55 minutes devoted to a sequenced curriculum will be provided. The schedule will operate within the calendar of the Atlanta Public Schools. Students will have received approximately 40-50 clockhours of instruction. This does not include peer counseling, student-parent counseling sessions, group counseling, or the likes of any of the "special event."

f. A series of quarterly meetings with parents. These sessions are determined by parents, students, and school counselors. Any reasonable combination of the groups can request a session. Selected consultants are brought in to supplement the project staff. They usually focus on topics such as drugs, mental health, (with an emphasis on stress management) employment opportunities, and topics, selected by the students themselves.

There is a real need to develop a "maintenance treatment" component. In other words, the behaviors and the attitudes that reinforce the behaviors have been those which have been internalized through the period of development that spans infancy through preadolescence. Therefore follow-up is a necessary component for service providers to include in the delivery of program content. Your limited review of the literature did not reveal programs with such a component.

The need to have such a component is supported by monitoring of students in later grades at the two high schools. Project ADEPT recognizes this fact and provides limited follow-up. The follow-up activities are viewed as being extremely important. However, due to limited resources, it has not progressed in its development as has the curriculum in the two dominant components.

Counseling Interns

Over the past three years, the Morehouse School of Religion has provided interns to work closely with the program. These interns (male and female) are students working towards an advanced degree or advanced training for the ministry. Their internship with the adolescent program resulted from a coordinated effort between the project director and Morehouse School of Religion to apply their "counseling skills" in a non-religious setting.

Staffing consists of a male and female instructional team. Other than separation of male and female students for selected presentations, the students generally have instructional classes as a single unit. With the addition of the interns, a new and continuous counseling component was added. Students interact with the interns in three very different ways. Individual stu-

dents can request a counseling session or groups can informally meet with an intern or through the weekly class meetings. The instructional team works closely with the assigned guidance counselor at each school. Often the interns were able to make "break throughs" where other school personnel had been stimied.

Project ADEPT was developed in response to a need that exists within the urban community and for many who dwell there the situation seems hopeless. The ultimate goal is that each participant begin to see a different sense of self having experienced the shared learning. The current program was designed to be used with students who are in high school. The concepts are applicable to students in the middle school grades as well.

The modular format was designed for the purpose of being used in a variety of ways. It can be the basis for a sex education program; the modules can be used or integrated into a social studies program or as a curriculum focusing on adolescent development and/or parent education for the pregnant teen or the teenage parents.

Funding for the interns are made available through the Home Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Conference. A monthly stipend is paid to each intern for an academic year of participation. This experience has proven to be a much needed service for the school community and a valuable learning/training experience for the interns.

2.2 *Results and Expected Benefits* With the objectives being multifaceted, the following represents a concrete sample of what would be expected as *observable* and *measurable objectives*.

a. *Reduction* in the number of pregnancies among adolescents in the target group (13-15 years of age teens).

b. Adolescent parents *application of practical parenting skills/behavior*.

c. Students' knowledge of and *application of developmental* tasks.

d. *Increase* in school attendance.

e. *Greater participation* on the part of parents/teens — pregnant and nonpregnant — in the school program.

f. An approach that is *cost-effective*.

g. An approach that is *replicable*.

h. An approach that is *transportable*.

i. An approach the *involves the total school-community*.

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The Conspiracy to Destroy Black Boys

by Jawanza Kunjufu, Ph.D., Afro-American Publishing Company, Chicago, Illinois

. . . There were a million brothers last year who wanted a position in the NBA, of that million, only four-hundred thousand would make it to play high school ball. Of that four-hundred thousand, only four thousand will make it to play college ball. Of that four thousand, only thirty-five will make it to the professionals. Of that thirty-five, only seven will start. You have a million brothers looking for seven full-time jobs. Yet, last year, we had a hundred thousand job openings for engineers, only one thousand brothers qualified. We have brothers today who believe that they have better odds going to the NBA than being an engineer.

When does the conspiracy start? We divide it into three categories: infancy to nine years, nine years to thirteen years, and thirteen to eighteen. America is a very crisis oriented country, many of us have also become crisis oriented, as well. We respond once there is a problem, rather than dealing with the problem before it starts. We appeal to you, we're not talking about men, we're talking about boys. The real issue is can we give our children self-esteem early? Teach them about being proud, being Black, early. To believe in the Lord early. To teach them how to read early. In other words, start infancy to nine.

You don't know what Ronald Reagan knows. In this country, Head Start is cost effective, it costs $2,004, to send your son or daughter to Head Start for a year. Studies show that Head Start is as cost effective as medical school. But America chooses not put its money in Head Start. They choose to put their money in prisons. It costs $38,000 to send your same son or daughter to a private prison for a year. In other words, the mayor will allocate more money to prisons than to Head Start. In other words, you either educate me now or you will pay later. We appeal to you to work in the first stage, infancy to nine years.

Many principals across the country encourage me to speak to the upper grade children, because they say that they need it. The reason why they need it is because we didn't give it to them in the earlier grades. Therefore, we again, appeal on this first issue; to respond to the first area, infancy to nine. Many of us have not done that, so that second stage, then, becomes nine to thirteen. The fourth grade syndrome. It's unfortunate, but as the age increases, street-time increases. When that phenomenon is on the increase, parent involvement is on the decrease. Who told parents when your child gets older, he or she needs less of your time rather than more? In other words, the peer group and media began to exert their greatest influence between nine and thirteen years of age.

What are the unique differences that go on in the primary division that do not go on in the upper grade, or intermediate division. There are certain teaching styles that change. There are certain behaviors that begin to change from primary to intermediate. Black boys and Black children begin to suffer as they move into the intermediate division. Remember, that up until this point a Black boy probably still has not seen a Black male. In other words, a Black girl probably would have seen her mother at home, and might have even seen a Black female teacher, at this point. But a Black male, and many brothers have told me they may go into the eighth grade and sometimes beyond, before they see their first Black male teacher. Again at the fourth grade level, Black boys, still have not seen a very positive Black male role model on an academic level.

The second question is: Who is involved in the conspiracy to destroy Black boys? There are a lot of people who want to destroy Black boys before they are able to become men. We divide them into two categories: The active conspirators, and the passive conspirators. If you want to be an active conspirator, you have to believe in White-male supremacy. You have to believe in either overt or institutional racism. Those who are active conspirators get some help. The other category is called passive conspirators. In other words, they may even be in this room, they really like Black children, they just didn't know any better. They were apathetic. They were indifferent. It's almost like child abuse. There were always two: you have the father who probably did the beatings, but when the mother turns her back, then she, too, becomes part of this conspiracy. As Alice Walker said, "If you think the only reason for our problem is because of somebody else, you have given them a compliment they do not fully deserve." We have to look at it both ways. Where

it started. And we do need to understand where it started, but also where it begans to grow at this particular point.

Let me now give you the starting line-up: Leading off and batting in the first position representing institutional racism is Ronald Wilson Reagan. Batting second, representing big business, for the fortune five hundred, trilateral commission, is David Rockefeller. Batting third, representing the military complex, the one they say you can be whatever you want to be, and as a result, Black people are 12% of the population, one-third of the military, Casper Weinberger, bats third. Batting fourth, and I do not mean Marlon Brando, I mean the real godfather, drugs running rampant in the Black community, the real godfather bats fourth. Those are the four sources, those personalities and what they represent, Reagan, Rockefeller, Weinberger, and the godfather, who intentionally want to make sure Black boys never grow up to be men.

But they get some help from the second category, the passive conspirators. Batting fifth some not all female teachers. Again some, not all. Some Black mothers bat sixth. Representing the macho image, the muscle image, batting seventh, is Mr. T. Batting eighth, the super-star status, "you don't need to study, you can be a star", batting eighth, is Prince and Magic Johnson. We're being nice to Michael, because Michael is contributing his Victory Tour money to the United Negro College Fund, so we use Prince, rather than Michael. Batting ninth, is a Black woman somewhere between twenty-one and fifty-nine years of age, and she goes by the name of Cathy. She will do anything for a man. That's the starting line-up, Reagan, Rockefeller, Weinberger, the godfather, female teachers, Black mothers, Mr.T., Prince and Magic, and a Black woman, named Cathy.

Again, we need to go back to where it started. It started with white-male supremacy. You didn't know why Jesse ran for the White House. You didn't know, in a country that's supposed to be free and democratic, that every president has been white, and male. You didn't know that a white boy with a high school diploma, makes more money than a white woman, Black woman, or a Black man with a college degree. You didn't know that every large corporation in the fortune five hundred is run by a European male. Frances Welsing states across the country in world population, 80% of the world's population has color. We've been lied to, we are not the minority of the world's population — 80% has color. One billion live in China alone, and we are second, with 700 million people. We are not the minority. The question is, how can so small a group of people, 20%, have so much power all over the world? If you divide twenty in half, you come up with 10% European men and 10% European women. The question begin, is how could so small, control so much?

You didn't know that the threat to European men are not women, Black or white. Women have no power anywhere in the world. The threat to European men are not going to be women, they're going to be men. Especially the men with the most color. And what better way to destroy a Black male than to destroy him as a boy. The motive for the conspiracy is white-male supremacy. One of their own psychologists, Herbert Goldberg, has written a book called, *The Hazards of Being a Male*. He talks about how difficult it is being so small, wanting to control so much.

I want to now talk about manhood and what it means to be a man. Goldberg describes it very well. The first thing that you have to do if you want to be a man, if you want to be a world runner, first thing you're taught is not to cry. Have you ever seen Ronald Reagan cry? John Wayne cry? They died with their boots on. They died in their saddles. They died like a man! The first thing that Black and white men are taught to do is not to cry! Any good psychologist will tell you that crying may avoid suicidal tendencies later. But as a result of men being taught not to cry, European men commit suicide more than anybody else. Isn't it interesting they make more money than anybody else, but they commit suicide more than anybody else. Black men are a very close second, European women are third, and the most sane person in America, she don't make no money, but stays close to God and her children, Black women commit suicide less than anybody else.

The second thing that we're taught to do is to ignore pain. Got hypertension, shake it off. Got cancer, shake that off, too. On Monday night football, Walter Payton goes off the field with a busted knee, he comes back on a half hour later, Howard Cosell says, "Oh! What a man!" The man was crazy to go back on the field. But men are encouraged to do that. While women, when their finger bleeds they go to the doctor's office. Because women know how to take care of themselves.

The next issue is life expectancy. European women live to seventy-seven years of age. Black women are a very close second at seventy-five years of age. European men, busy running the world, die at sixty-nine years of age. Black men, who want so much to be like European men, die at 64.8. We die before we get our first social security check. We got a serious problem.

The major issue, besides being taught not to cry, to ignore pain, we are also taught to "bring home the bacon". Ronald Reagan knows that. It is very difficult to be a man in this country with no job. You see,

Black men want to do like white men do; to buy their family a house in the suburbs, two cars, and a once a year trip to Disneyworld in Orlando, Florida. It is very difficult to be a man in this country with no job. But I was very disappointed, in Baltimore a couple months ago, at an annual Black Men's Conference, last year's conclusion was, that the major problem affecting Black men was economics. I was speaking there for this current year. I really had problems with that statement because if we allow our masculinity to be placed upon a job, then does that mean that I am a man, today because I have one, and I'm not one when I lose one tomorrow? Is my manhood depended upon city hall, the statehouse, or the White House? We need to redefine what it is to be a man. Some young brothers think being a man is how much reefer they smoke. How much liquor they drink. How many women they have. What kind of clothes they wear. We have to redefine what it means to be a man.

One of my major concerns is with regard to relationships between Black men and Black women. There are many Black women who would make a very serious mistake when their men are out of work. That is, that they blame their men for the plight. They say, "Well, you gotta go. If you ain't working, you gotta go."The mistake is that they assume that Black men hire and fire, but Black men do not hire and fire. The other mistake that Black men make in contrast to that is that many Black men, then, blame Black women for taking their jobs. But, again, Black women do not hire and fire. We are blaming each other, and yet we are going to the very same source for the same crime. Now a second response that we encourage Black women to give to their men when they are out of work is, "Well, baby, as long as you're looking for a job. As long as you're going back to school. Or, at least make dinner while I work, you can stay." But the problem is that there are a very few Black men that look to Black women for a level of self-esteem. Most Black men accept a white definition of manhood. We're going to have to redefine, again, what it means to be a man. We have a continuum now, between sissies on the one hand, and macho on the other. We got a serious problem. We need to find medium ground. In other words, it's not healthy to be a fag on the one end, and macho on the other.

There was a movie some of you saw three years ago, called *Making Love*. In this movie, these two white men were describing a boyhood experience. A Little League baseball game. The father had taught his son how to bat. But he ran out of time teaching his son how to catch. Late in the game the boy dropped the ball in right field and his team lost the game. The father told his son afterward that he embarrassed him. Told him that he couldn't go to work for a week. That boy, all his life had been trying to please the most important man, his father. Because he did not do it, he will now try again, but this time not with his father. This time he will try with other men. In other words, when Black boys want to be open, honest, and communicative. When they want to be involved in fine arts. When they want to do a good job in school, they're labeled sissies. When you're labeled that long, you begin to act that way. We need to begin a balance between those two extremes. Please don't misquote me, I did not say take your son off the basketball team and put him in ballet, I did not say that. I said I want him in the library half the week and in martial arts, the other. A balance. One who can think for himself intellectually, but can defend himself physically.

I want to now look at female teachers. Janice Hale, has written a book called, *Black Children: Their Roots, Culture, and Learning Styles*. She takes a critical look at the role that female teachers play with regard to Black male development. As I mentioned earlier, 80% of our elementary school teachers are women. Seventeen percent of all of our children are Black. But Black children make up 41% of all EMR children. The Educable Mentally Retarded. How does seventeen equal forty-one? It gets worse. If a Black child is labeled EMR, 85% of the time it's going to be a Black boy. Eighty-five to fifteen. Why was it not fifty-fifty? Black boys also lead the nation in suspension. So Janice Hale has taken a critical look at that particular phenomenon. Takes a critical look at female teachers, so do we in ours. Maybe the real problem is that we don't understand that Black boys have a different learning style than Black girls. Or let me say it clear. Black boys are boys, different than girls. And as Janice Hale says that Black children have different learning styles than white children. Instructors teach their subjects, but as Piaget says, teachers understand how children learn. In other words, some of us want to be a geometry teacher, a physics teacher, that is an instructor. They only want to teach their subject. But if you are a teacher, then you will understand how children learn. In other words, Black children have a different culture than white children. Black boys have a different culture than Black girls. Therefore, we need to understand what those differences are. Boys have a different walk, a different talk, have a larger ego, are more aggressively inclined, are more athletically inclined, don't like being neat, like to fight more than girls, like wearing hats on their heads, are louder than girls, lacking more in fine motor skills, interested more in math than in reading, influenced more by their peer groups, give less attention to detail, are less conforming, are larger than girls, are

less cooperative, have a shorter attention span, and as Janice Hale mentions, boys, also like to signify or play the dozens more than girls. In our workshops, we ask the teachers do they know what signifying is, do they know what playing the dozens are, many times, especially white females do not know what signifying or playing the dozens are. It has been said that Black boys are not verbal, that's not true. Black boys are verbal. They may not always be on verbal on class material, but Black boys are verbal. They can even make these words rhyme. Signifying was actually a game to avoid a fight. If you understood Black culture, you would understand that, In other the words, the rule in school is that you can't fight. So signifying was a game to replace the fight. It is a game to find out who is the best. Or, as they say, "Who is the baddest." In male culture you want to find who is the best or who's the baddest. Since we cannot fight about it, we talk about it. It is a game that toughens each other up. Please don't misquote me, I'm not saying I'm condoning signifying or playing the dozens. I'm saying the same thing that the judge said in Michigan about Black English. Black English exists. Their parents speak it, and their friends speak it. And if you want to move a child from Black English to standardized English, you don't condemn him, you make him feel good where he is, in other words, you bond with him first. It is very difficult to have someone believe in you when you attack them. You have to bond first. You have to let them know that you understand their culture. Many teachers have not bonded, have not made Black boys believe that they understand their culture.

Another area has to do with mothers. Please remember that I said some, not all. There's a rumor going around that some mothers raise their daughters and love their sons. "My boy, always loved his mama." Forty years of age, still at home with you. That needs to stop. Your boy is not yours. He is a future husband, and a future father, and needs to be raised that way. Don't just blame Reagan, take a critical look at yourself. Have you taught your son how to cook, to clean his own bathroom ring, to make up his own bed. What do I mean by raised, because you raised your daughter. Your daughter is on the honor roll every marking period. Goes to church with you every Sunday. She can cook, sew, iron, and clean. But then we have "your boy". Never saw the honor roll, he's playing basketball all evening long. Never goes to church, and can't boil a hot dog. So the rumor is that we are raising our daughters, and loving our sons.

We have one family who raised their daughter and she's twenty-five years of age. We have another family who loved their boy, he's also twenty-five years of age, and they want to get married. Will it work? A raised daughter, and a loved boy. Will it work? Remember how you raised your daughter, "Girl, always keep you a checking account on the side." These brothers don't like that. They want their wives to be as loyal as their mamas were. But you didn't raise your daughter to be loyal to a man. So if you really love your sisters, then when you look at your son when you go home, understand he is somebody's husband. And he is somebody's father. And you must raise him to be responsible. These boys holding these mothers hostage with these "Mama, I want you to buy me a hundred dollar Gucci bag, and a seventy dollar pair of gym shoes. Then mothers do that, "Well, you didn't have a father." If his daddy was there, he wouldn't buy him no hundred dollar Gucci bag, and seventy dollar gym shoes. So it is again erroneous, again, there are many women who say that Black men are irresponsible. Black men cannot be blamed for being irresponsible . . . if they were not given responsibility as boys. We encourage you to look at all your domestic responsibilities, to begin to look at what you can give to your sons.

In closing, before we look at solutions, this conspiracy, again, is made of many parts. I sincerely believe the best way to solve any problem is to first of all study to find out what exactly the problem is. I believe the conspiracy is made of white-male supremacy, institutional and overt racism, parental apathy, few male role models, the media, an influential peer group, a passive curriculum that does not encourage Black mobility, and the male socialization process. I believe the best way we can solve the conspiracy is for you to look at each one of those areas, and begin to see what we can do to respond to it. We raise them in three categories, for the home, for the school, and for the community.

First of all for the home, we first of all recommend that all mothers admit, and some mothers have not done it, that it is suicidal for a boy to grow up without a positive male role model in his life. Not all women have done that. It seems obvious that many of us have not done that, yet. After we admit that our boys need to have men in their lives. Then we want you to identify a positive male role model. And as Dr. Willie mentioned in disputing Moynihan, don't think that because the biological father is not there, there are not some other men there in our extended family. There is still your brother, your father, your father-in-law, your uncle, and many other male images there. Third, once you identify the male role model of your choice, we want a contract developed on what you want that man and your son doing on an ongoing, regular basis. Let me now bring the fathers back in, it is amazing to me how many fa-

thers only interact with their sons on some child centered activity. Going to the zoo, to the park, or see the Brown's football game. I sincerely believe that boys learn just as much when you go to the barbershop or get an oil change for your car. It's amazing how men will say go with your mama and she's going to the beauty shop, when he could stay with you and learn what men do in a very natural situation. I also appeal to men, every man in this room I think will have to admit that you became a man because some man took some time out with you. I want all men to begin to touch a life of one other boy who is not their biological child. WE need to reach out and touch.

Next, for the home, we need to develop our boys fine motor skills. Our boys come into classrooms advanced in gross motor. But schools emphasize more fine motor than gross motor. We need to develop their fine motor skills before they go into school. We must also have a non-sexist household. They need to be involved in all domestic responsibilities. We must also hold them accountable for their sexual behavior, which means you must teach them about sex early. Most of us are waiting too long, sixteen to eighteen. They are involved sexually around twelve to fourteen years of age. We must start the lesson earlier, and we must also hold them responsible. In other words, there are some parents who know that their son impregnated another girl down the street and let the boy off with no responsibility. My father made very sure, very early, when he said that if you make it, you will take care of it. We must hold our boys responsible. There are simply too many teenage pregnancy programs allocating resources to women, rather than to men who are both involved. Both are responsible.

Lastly, for the home, we also recommend monitoring the peer group. There are certain things that good parents have always done well. First of all, good parents know who their children's friends are. Second, they invite them over to get to know them better. Third, many parents program the peer group. My parents enrolled me on the track team so I ran track rather then run the streets. In other words, good parents monitor the peer group by knowing who their friends are, inviting them over, and they may sometimes even select the people who they want their child to interact with.

We must also monitor T.V. As powerful as ABC, NBC, and CBS are, one of the things that they have not been able to do yet, is to force you to turn it on. It's a problem, because you, not them, are at the root of the problem.

Lastly, for the home, our boys may be turned off in the classroom, but they still have interests. We need to find out what those interests are. Many parents do not listen to our children. Many parents talk at them, rather than listening to them. When we do not listen, they begin to talk more and more to their peer group. We must begin to listen to the kind of issues that our boys are concerned about. We recommend that for the home.

In closing, for the schools, we first of all recommend that we increase, and we appeal to all men who have not made a career decision, to first of all consider teaching. If nothing but for one year, we want you to consider teaching. Second, we want all men who are current teachers, who are probably in the upper division, to consider teaching if nothing but for one year, in the primary and intermediate division. Third, we want all of our quality female teachers to teach in the primary division. We want our best teachers early, not late. We are burning out some very good teachers in the upper grades with problems that they did not create. We want our best teachers early, not late. WE also appeal to all female teachers in this current ten month school year, to look at ten men, once a month, who will come into your classroom and talk with your students. I don't mean Andy Young, or Jesse Jackson. I mean your local bus driver, plumber, or carpenter. Just a down-to-earth Black man who can be a consistent role model for your classroom. In addition to that, if men cannot be physically there, we want more literature than our children can read about glorifying what we have done, not just in music and sports. There are other things Black men have done that they also need to read about. In addition to that, schools give more glory to the ball than to the books. They have pep rallies for the team. There are medals and letters for the football and basketball team. You go into a high school and the first thing you see is the trophies. What about glory for the debate winners, for the Black history winners, for the spelling-bee winners, for the math contest. Even schools give more glory to their schools to their ball players, than they do to their books.

Last, but not least, we also want a non-sexist classroom. We want teachers sensitive to the needs of not only their females, but also their male students. As Dr. Willie mentioned throughout his presentation, we need to quit emphasizing the negatives. We also need to emphasize the positive. We try to do that in our solutions.

In closing, I want to look at the kind of man that I am talking about. I believe that we will win. Life remains very simple, providing only two choices, despair or faith. If we give up, we automatically lose. Only if we dare to struggle, do we dare to win. My faith is not naive or blind. I see large numbers of African-American men idle on corners. And, I see young boys bored in school. But I also, the teacher in 201 turning on chil-

dren. A father hugging and crying in front of his son. I see my own sons, and I can't help but believe those words from Haki regarding the male potential. I'd like to dedicate this poem to Dr. Willie, to Paul Hill and Thomas Watson, representing Mr. Ballard:

You will recognize your brothers by the way
they act and move throughout the world.
There will be a strange force about them.
There will be unspoken answers in them.
This will be obvious, not only to you but to men.
The confidence they have in themselves and in their people
will be evident in their quiet saneness.
The way they relate to women will be clean,
complimentary, and filled with honesty.
The way they relate to children, will be strong and solvent,
full of positive direction.
The way they relate to men will be that of quest for
our position in this world.
Will be of planning for movement and change.
Will be one of working for their people.
Will be one of maintaining trust in the race.
These men will be strange and unusual but this will not
be the case for long.
They will train others, this life they will display
will become a way of life for many.
They know this is difficult, for this the life they have chosen,
For themselves, for us, for life.
These men will be the examples. They will be our answers.
They will be the first Black builders. They will be the creators.
They will be the first to give up the pleasures.
They will be the first to share a Black value system.
They will be your workers, your scholars, your historians,
your doctors, your lawyers, your farmers, and your priests.
And all that is needed.
You will recognize these brothers,
And they will not betray you.

Thank you very much.

The Case for the Black Male: A Rebuttal to the Case Against the Black Male

by Charles V. Willie, Ph.D., Harvard University

It is difficult topic to discuss the black male, so much misinformation has been written about him. The case against the black male is being prosecuted in the mass media with white public opinion serving both as judge and jury, and some blacks participating as accusatory expert witnesses. What is strange about this trial is that the accused is not permitted to defend himself in the mass media and the privilege to present information which could exonerate the accused is usually denied.

For example, the *Boston Globe* began a series of articles on black men and black women Sunday, September 22 (Richardson, 1985: B23, B26). It was entitled "Black Men-Black Women: The Expectation Gap."

In 1981, I published a book entitled *A New Look at Black Families*. It examined the way of life of middle-class, working-class and poor black families. In 1985, I published a book entitled *Black and White Families: A Study in Complementarity*. It indicated what middle class, working class, and poor whites can learn from blacks of similar and different class levels and vice versa. This information would have been of value to the *Boston Globe* reporter. But it was never requested. Despite the title of the *Boston Globe* article, it really was an assault on black men. A subheadline of the article was "Black Men are Falling Behind Black Women."

To its credit, the article quoted *Essence* magazine editor, Susan Taylor, who said headlines like the one mentioned are a myth because black women are on the bottom of the ladder economically; "they make 92 cents for every $1.00 a black man makes," she said. While *Essence* has published articles on the stresses of black male-black female relationships, Editor Susan Taylor said "The reality is that there is a war on black people in America" and that neither black men nor black women should "buy into the myth" that one or the other is enjoying some kind of privilege. Taylor concluded, the myth has been cultivated as a way to further pit black men and black women against each other.

Susan Taylor speaks the truth. The *Boston Globe* included her testimony in its case against the black male as a good newspaper should but then immediately ignored the wisdom of her remarks.

The reporter-prosecutor continued to build the case against black men. Casting doubt on Susan Taylor's testimony, the *Boston Globe* reporter wrote that "statistics . . . seem to show a discrepancy . . . that black men are losing ground." To counter Susan Taylor's statements, the reporter-prosecutor introduced expert opinion from a few blacks with intimate knowledge of black ghetto and slum life. The first witness was a black lawyer, the president of Boston's Black Men's Association. He said black youngsters have no positive black male role models and black boys do not have any goals other than possibly achieving as athletes and musicians. Another witness quoted was a 14-year old black male resident of Roxbury. He said that many of his friends had dropped out of school but that they probably would have remained in school if they had a father living with them. These statements described black boys as failures and indicated black men as contributing to their failure.

Moreover, black boys were described as not aspiring to attend college, never dreaming of becoming a professor or politician, not even thinking about a career as a doctor, lawyer or businessman. Rather, they were characterized as having high rates of unemployment, crime, and incarceration. In summary, black men were portrayed as hanging around the street and getting in trouble. Their problems were described by the *Boston Globe's* reporter-prosecutor as leading to an unbroken cycle of poverty and little upward social mobility.

Mothers were ignored, dismissed, or denied as being of any consequence in the lives of their black sons by the reporter-prosecutor. Black wives of black husbands were completely ignored in the article. It was asserted that black boys turn more to their peers for support and direction than to mothers. This assertion, of course, is only partially true; which means, it is partially false. Half truths as well as half lies confuse and confound. They provide some information but little knowledge and no understanding.

Actually a few studies about middle-class black families that I recently reviewed came to conclusions that are opposite to those that were offered by the *Boston Globe* reporter-prosecutor. Annie Barnes said "studies of the black family have primarily focused on the low-income and working-class communities." These studies, she said, have emphasized matrifocality, a concept which describes domestic units dominated by females. Annie Barnes said, "this is a type of family

found among lower-class black families in which [the man in the house] appears to be unsuited for steady employment" (Barnes, 1983:56). The error in most studies of black families, said Barnes, is "the phenomenon of lumping all blacks together and sometimes comparing them with the white middle class" (Barnes, 1983:56).

Indeed Barnes studied middle-class black families in Atlanta, Georgia, and found circumstances quite different from those described by the *Boston Globe*. She found that a majority of the black men and black women in her study has attended college; a higher proportion of black women than black men had graduated from college and gone on to graduate school. But a higher proportion of black men compared to black women had obtained doctoral degrees. She also found that a majority of both middle-class black men and middle-class black women held white collar jobs but that black women outnumbered black men in these jobs by 12 percentage points. Some of the middle-class families in Atlanta, Barnes classified as matriarchy; but they were a minority of the middle-class black families that she studied (Barnes, 1983:60).

Walter Allen studied a middle-class sample of blacks in Chicago. About one-third of the black men and slightly more than one-fourth of the black women in his study had studied in college (Allen, 1983:80). About half of the black men and slightly more than one-quarter of the women held white-collar jobs (Allen, 1983:81). For the most part, Allen discovered that the black wives in middle-class black families reported greater marital satisfaction than their husbands (Allen, 1983:83). Moreover, Allen found that race had little to do with variation in marital adjustment (Allen, 1983:85).

Finally, Donald P. Addison reported the results of his study of black middle-class wives in Crescent City, Iowa.

In Addison's study of middle-class black families, the women found their men to be temperate, industrious, faithful, and trustworthy (Addison, 1983:97-99). Addison said that while the literature on black family life tends to characterize black men as "weak, unprincipled individuals with minimum concern for (their) family" (Addison, 1983:100), he found that middle-class black women described their middle-class husbands as "faithful and emotionally strong," not lazy gamblers who abuse their mates (Addison, 1983:109).

One might object to the fact that I have cited studies of middle-class black families only. The *Boston Globe* reporter was talking about poor black families only. If the way of life of middle-class black men is not representative of all blacks, neither is the way of life of poor black men representative of all blacks. Yet, our reporter-prosecutor has presented the troubles of poor black men and their relationship with poor black women as indicative of the relationships between black men and black women everywhere.

The truth of the matter, however, is that only one-third of the black population is below the poverty line. This means that a newspaper headline that announces to the world that black men are falling behind black women in achievement is talking about a lower-class phenomenon and generalizing it to the whole of the black population.

Actually, the portrait of the black poor and especially black poor men contained in the *Boston Globe* article is a more appropriate description of poor white men. Essentially reporters like the one who wrote the article damning black men was talking about a condition more descriptive of poor whites. In fact, one could say the reporter was projecting the way of life of poor whites upon poor blacks. In my study of *Black and White Families*, I summarize the literature regarding what is known about poor white families. The following is an excerpt from my book about poor white families:

> *[According to A. B. Hollingshead,]* "the husband-wife relationship is more or less unstable." He found at least half of the families in the community single-parent households because of the death, desertion, separation or divorce of the other spouse. Also a goodly number of poor whites in the city are single men *[according to Sally Bould Vantil]*. She said "poor white men who are not 'good providers' are severely stigmatized. . . ." "Being constantly accused for not assuming the 'manly role' in an effective way", "disagreements leading to quarrels and . . . fights . . . are not unusual *[according to A. B. Hollingshead]*."
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> "While most poor white men still feel it is their responsibility to be the provider, 'often they cannot fulfill this responsibility alone as the soaring proportion of unmarried women attest *[according to Lillian Rubin]*." She said that "the employment of the wife among poor whites is one more challenge to the husband's uncertain self-esteem; for the poor white wife, employment is seen by her as 'another burden.'"
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> "Teenage marriages are not infrequent. With cohabitation starting at an early age . . . most mothers among the poor white give birth to their first child before the twentieth anniversary of their birth, *[according to A. B. Hollingshead]*." He said that "the mother-child relationship is the strongest and most enduring tie."
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> " . . . These whites have been left out of the affluent society," according to Sally Bould Vantil. "They, therefore, have 'a profound lack of trust' in others . . ." she said. "They are people of

> dispair according to David Schultz; they have little optimism: " . . . poor whites dare not hope for a better future for their children. . . . With little or no knowledge of how to escape from poverty, the poor white family become invisible people and suffer their indignities alone. In social isolation from others, their loyalty with kin is sustaining." As stated by Todd Gitlin and Nanci Hollander, "the (white) poor . . . find many corners for hiding."

There you have it — a description of the white poor and its men in the household. It reads very much like the description of the black poor about which reporters like to write. They do not write about poor white men. Could it be that the black poor are not at all similar to the portrait that has been prepared by the reporter-prosecutor, that such journalists are merely projecting upon blacks what they have seen but cannot accept as the way of life of whites? This is a thought worthy of considering.

Further the way of life of poor whites is ignored or denied, is never generalized as characteristic of the white population at large. But the alleged way of life of the black poor is televised, serialized, and spread across the nation as representative of all blacks.

I raise these questions not only because the way of life of the white poor is more like that which is alleged to be the way of life of the black poor. I raise these questions as whether blacks are being used as a scapegoat on which all that whites dislike in their own family life is heaped as if this would solve the problems of whites. This, of course, is a silly way of attempting to solve individual or group problems. But the practice continues.

The *Boston Globe* article reported that poor black men have no male role models, pay little attention to what their mothers say or do, believe they can earn money and be upwardly mobile only through professional athletics and music, and never dream of becoming a professor, politician, doctor or lawyer. These alleged facts are contrary to findings I uncovered in my study of "The Role of Mothers in the Lives of Outstanding Scholars" (Willie, 1984:291-306). All of the outstanding scholars in my study were black men. They were voted as the most outstanding blacks in history, economics, psychology, political science, and literature in the United States. They were John Hope Franklin, W. Arthur Lewis, Kenneth B. Clark, Matthew Holden, Jr., and Darwin T. Turner. The interesting fact about these men is that all had earned Ph.D. degrees. They had served as professors at prestigious universities in this nation. All had bean elected president or vice president of the national associations in their disciplines. Three had Phi Beta Kappa keys. In addition, one had been a Commissioner of the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission, another had been knighted at Buckingham palace and had served as a bank president in the Carribean Islands; still another was a member of the powerful Board of Regents of New York State. And one had served as academic dean of several colleges and universities. All had written books.

These men grew up in varying circumstances: two in working class families and three in middle-class families. But resources in four of the five families were limited, even in those families that were middle class. These men also came of age in different family forms. Three grew into adulthood in single-parent households and two, in two-parent households. Even in the two-parent households, fathers were separated from their families for periods of time because of the absence of professional or business opportunities in their local communities. These outstanding scholars grew up in city slums, rural impoverished areas, all-black communities; and in regular urban residential communities.

Despite variations in conditions and circumstances, these five black scholars had in common some very fine and supportive relationships with black women who were their mothers or their wives. This finding is contrary to the *Boston Globe* article about the source of support for black men in black ghetto communities. The *Globe* article said black youth in the black ghetto have no fathers, ignore their mothers and look to other young comrades for support and direction. Not so, for my five black scholars!

Psychologist Kenneth Clark attributes his success to two women in his life — his mother and his wife. When the marriage between his mother and father broke up, his mother moved from the Panama Canal Zone to New York City to find better educational opportunities for her children. Clark's mother obtained work in the garment district as a dressmaker. She insisted that her son be accepted in an academic program rather than being steered to a vocational high school as was customary for blacks in the day of Clark's youth. Clark said his mother insisted on these arrangements because she was not awed by authority; her daring ways, he said, saved him and his sister. She also demanded good grades from her son and told him that he had to go to college. Clark characterized his mother and wife as strong women who demanded the maximum of him (Willie, 1984:299-300).

Political scientist Matthew Holden Jr. at the age of thirteen migrated from Mississippi to Chicago because of crop failures on the farm. Holden's father completed the fifth grade and his mother, the eleventh. They had semiskilled and laboring jobs in Chicago. Holden's mother and father never permitted him to miss school for any reason except illness. Holden attributes his interest in political science to the times when he visited the ward committeeman's office in Chicago with his father and uncle. Holden describes his

mother as an extremely intelligent woman who always read the newspaper and the Bible. When his parents eventually separated after moving to Chicago, he remained a member of his mother's household until he received a master's degree. Of his mother he said, "I could always count on her" (Willie, 1984:300-301).

Economist Arthur Lewis grew up in the British West Indies in a family of five siblings who were raised and supported by their mother after the death of the father when Lewis was only seven years old. His mother gave up teaching after her marriage but returned to the labor force as a business woman when her husband, who also was a teacher, died. Lewis said, she supported and sustained five children on the income from her dry-goods business. She educated her sons in law, medicine, and economics among other professions. She sent them to England for college and university studies. Lewis said, "I never found out how she managed to establish and support us; but she did, on the income from the business."

These three outstanding black men grew into adulthood without fathers present in the household. They looked to their mothers for support, accepted it, and followed their advice. Moreover, they have maintained long and sustained marriages with their wives. The *Boston Globe* could have written about these black men too but apparently chose not to.

Actually, black men along with black women have contributed to a revolutionary experience in family relations in this nation. This experience, like other good things they do, has remained invisible or has been ignored.

Daniel Patrick Moynihan said, "ours is a society which presumes male leadership in private and public affairs" (Moynihan, 1966:29). Quite frankly, this is a sexist position which black men have rejected. Black men — the affluent and the poor — recognize and accept leadership as a characteristic that is not and should not be gender-linked. The revolution which black men have helped to usher in is the equalitarian family in which there is a considerable amount of give and take in decision-making so that neither partner always prevails; neither the man in the house nor the woman in the house gets one's way always in household that is equalitarian. Walter Allen reports that satisfaction ratings increase in families in which power is shared and decrease in authoritarian structures — patriarchal or matriarchal (Allen, 1983:77).

While an equalitarian household life-style involves the cooperation of men and women, I assert that black men have helped to bring into being this new relationship and arrangement which is the prevailing pattern now in all USA households (with whites following the lead of blacks), because black men categorically rejected Moynihan's assertion that a family structure that does not presume male leadership retards the upward mobility of a population (Moynihan, 1965:29). Black fathers and mothers have insisted that their daughters receive an education similar to that or better than the education provided for their sons as a way of overcoming the discrimination of sexism. And black husbands in general have encouraged black wives to enter the labor force and to pursue occupations more prestigious than their own. White males have had more difficulty handling this kind of equality. If measures of satisfaction in marriage increase with the increasing experience of equalitarianism, then this new style of social relations that does not presume male leadership in private and public affairs is something of value to which the rest of society is and should be conforming. Blessed be black men and women who have kept alive the belief in equality in household and other human affairs.

Our nation has not recognized equalitarianism in the family as a major contribution to social life in this nation that emerged from the black experience. It has not recognized this because it has been too busy damning black males. This bit of moral alchemy in which the good things that black males do are transformed into bad things is not new. One of the worse names to attach to a black male is to call him an "Uncle Tom." Unfortunately, many, including some blacks, have not read Harriet Beecher Stowe's book, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. It was Tom who sacrificed his freedom so that his master could raise enough money from the sale of his faithful servant to pay off his debts and keep his plantation and the other slaves who were Tom's friends together until emancipation. No other slave sale could have brought as much money as the sale of Tom. If Tom had escaped to freedom which was his eternal ambition, debtors would have foreclosed on his master and sold all of the slaves "down the river" to owners who were more inclined to brutalize them. Tom knew this and sacrificed his freedom so that the slave community of which he had been a part could remain together under the protection of a benign rather than a brutal owner.

Tom never made it back to the plantation of his original master as he hoped he would. He died standing up to Legree, the most hated slave owner in the South. Tom was ordered to whip one of Legree's concubines who had fallen out of favor with him and had been demoted to a field hand. When Legree ordered Tom to flog the woman, Tom replied, "I beg Mas'r's pardon .... I'ts what I an't used to, — never did, — and can't do, no way possible." Then he said, "This yer thing I can't feel it right to do; —and, Mas'r, I never shall do it, — never!" Finally, Tom said "Mas'r, if you mean to kill me, kill me; but, as to my raising my hand agin any one here, I nver shall — I'll die first!" And die, Tom did. A sacrificial death, he died. While the tears and blood flowed down his face, said Harriet Beecher

Stowe, Tom exclaimed, "No! no! no! my soul an't yours, Mas'r! You haven't bought it, — ye can't buy it!" (Stowe, 1963:364-366). Tom understood sacrifice and suffering for the sake of others. His is a marvelous legacy not unlike that of Jesus Christ, Moses, Ghandi, and Martin Luther King Jr.

How is it that the name of a black man who perfected the practice of sacrificial love has become an appelation of disdain? The prosecuting reporters have been at work long before the *Boston Globe* commissioned its September, 1985, series of articles. They have been hard at work, practicing their special brand of moral alchemy against black men. Sociologist Robert Merton said they transform what is a virtue for the ingroup into a vice when found among the outgroup (Merton, 1949). So sacrificial love which is good when found among white men is bad when exhibited among black men, so believe the prosecuting reporters. Thus, acting like Uncle Tom which is a virtue has been transformed into a vice when other blacks attempt to follow in his footsteps.

We honor Martin Luther King Jr. today. But some blacks as well as whites jeered at him and many whites called him Martin Luther *Coon*. Why the good works of black men are denied and their foibles widely publicized is hard to comprehend. But even more difficult to understand is the practice of turning against those blacks who have been a model for helping humanity such as Tom and King.

By not insisting on male dominance in private and public affairs as Moynihan said we should, black men with black women have discovered a new family form that has the possibility of yielding increased domestic tranquility in private affairs and more equality in public affairs. Black men and women should be honored for discovering this new family form. Instead they are ridiculed for not being like whites. There is something strange and even demonic about the case against the black male. It is time we revealed it for what it is — an unworthy scapegoating technique.

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Black Male/Female Relationships

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In talking about male/female relationships it would appear that there is a bit of a problem. There's an old African proverb: "That if you don't know where you're going, any road will take you there". Therefore if you don't understand what the nature of this problem is, then it is very hard to come up with solutions.

We hear a lot about the "great man shortage" for Black women. We hear a lot about how hard it is to find a good man. We even hear from some men how hard it is to find a good woman. While it is impossible to state that there is no problem, it is possible to assume that as an individual Black woman there is a man for you. And as an individual Black man, there is a woman for you. She may not be in this room; she may not be in this city; she may not be in this country. So you've got to search. Certainly, she or he is in this world.

If you're looking for a person in the context of today's society, and if you understand the demographics of the society, if you understand the values of the society, you will take that into consideration in formulating your criterion for the perfect mate. As an example of the problems in finding a mate, we might look at a copy of a new *Black Singles Magazine*. Throughout the United States there are a number of Black singles organizations. We have Black dating services. There is a Black singles magazine called *Black to Black Singles*. This, by the way, is not the first magazine of its type. There is another one that comes out of Chicago, *Being Single*, that is circulated on more of a national basis. One exists in New York called, *Chocolate Singles*. One particular Black singles magazine, *Black to Black Singles*, that is published in the Bay Area of California has personals ads. As one looks through it, for the women their ideal male was a man who was 6'2" and possessed the American Express Gold Card. While the men tended to be a little more devious, the emphasis seemed to be more on a woman's physical attractiveness. There were other kinds of criteria: someone who was non-smoking, who believed in Buddha, who was into ballet and classical music, and so forth. Everyone should have some standards, we can all agree, but those standards should be somewhat related to a person's ability to enact the role of husband and father, or wife and mother. Some of these standards simply do not relate to those roles. There was a time when all that was asked of a potential mate is: "Are you a good Christian? Are you a hard worker? What kind of family do you come from?" Generally you did not even have to ask what kind of family a potential mate came from because potential mates met through a family or kinship network. Today, all sort of complex questions are being asked because our criteria for a mate is so diverse.

Women tend to have the most complex criteria whereas men were looking first at physical attraction and then they find out if there's anything about you that's interesting afterward. This is why some men wind up with a woman who looks like a dream, but of limited intelligence. There's no wonder problems develop if these are the kinds of standards that we apply to something as important as a husband, father, or wife, or mother.

At the same time before we talk about solutions, we do need to define the problem. The problem is not the shortage of Black men. While it's true that the U.S. Census Bureau lists about a million and a half more Black women over the age of 18, than Black men, according to the U.S. Census Bureau's own admission. They missed almost one million Black men when they were counting during the 1980 census. It's not that those Black men do not exist, it's that the U.S. Census Bureau could not find them. Of course, a related problem was that there were a lot of Black women who could not find them either. They could not find them because they weren't likely to be in places where these Black women were. Those one million missing Black men were not college-educated Black men who would go in to offices from Monday through Friday, from 9 to 5, and who were at home watching TV or doing other constructive things in the evening. If they had been doing that, the U.S. Census Bureau could have found them. For the most part, they were likely to be in front of a liquor store, the pool hall, or looking for work. But they still exist. When we talk about a shortage of black men, we are not talking about Black men who do not exist . . . What we're really talking about is a shortage of Black men of quality and availability.

To enumerate briefly what this particular problem consists of:

Number one: About 46% of working age Black men (between the ages of 16 and 62) are not in the labor force. As already mentioned, about a million of them could not be located by the census. Two hundred fifty thousand to 300,000 are in jail. Another 2 million are unemployed. About 400,000 are in the military. Those in the military, of course can get married and may be available at some point. However, at least 25% of those Black males are in foreign military stations. And a large percentage of those who are in this country are in somewhat isolated small towns where they're not that accessible to the Black female population that is more likely to be located in urban areas. If we accept the Kinsey estimate of male homosexuality, approximately 800,000 would be gay. Furthermore an unknown number are substance abusers, i.e., alcoholics and drug addicts. A considerable large number, proportionately larger than any other group, are in mental hospitals. Be clear that this is not a sum zero proposition. When we talk about the shortage of Black men we always assume that every Black female is employed or is not in jail, is not in the military, is not gay, is not a substance abuser, or is not in mental hospitals. To a certain extent we have to subtract at least part of the Black female population from that part of the male population that has these same characteristics. Still there is no question, despite the aforementioned numbers there is a shortfall of Black men. There are about 400,000 fewer Black males than Black females over the age of 18. This is largely a function of the higher mortality rate of Black men, particularly between the ages of 15 to 35.

The Black men are there, and the question is, "why aren't Black women finding them? And when they find them, why aren't they marrying them. And if they're marrying them, why aren't they remaining married?" Obviously, a big part of this problem is that at least 46% of working age Black males are not gainfully employed and that means that they do not meet the minimum prerequisite for marriage according to most Black women and Black families — which is that you have to have some kind of job.

If it was only a matter of not having a job, it would appear that problem could be circumvented. We also need to understand that not having a job is often associated with other kinds of negative traits that make the possibility of a successful marriage unlikely. The person may not have a job because they are a substance abuser; they may not have a job because they are mentally unstable; they may not have a job because they have been in prison most of their life and never developed any kind of work skills or the kind of discipline needed to sustain employment. In those cases, being unemployed is not the real problem, only a symptom of other personal problems. There is no reason for us to assume that of the 3-4 million Black men who are not employed, are all unemployed for these sort of negative reasons. We know that in large measure, they are not employed due to changes in the economy. The fact that the economy has changed from being based on industrial production to service industries and information processing . . . and the fact that of all the groups in American society, Black men have the highest rate of functional illiteracy — estimates as high as 45%. Consequently, Black men lack the skills for re-entering the expanding sectors of the economy while being heavily concentrated in the declining industrial sector.

Even for college-educated Black women the problem is one where almost 200,00 more black women entered college in 1985 than Black men. There has been a decline in enrollment of Blacks in college in the last 8 years. Either it's been stagnant or has declined from about a peak that had been reached in 1978. But, the decline has been greater for Black men than women.

Also, Black men have a higher drop-out rate, meaning that four years, hence they are likely to have about 300,000 more Black women graduating from college. That's why you might get artificial sex ratios as low as 38 Black female college graduates for every one Black male college graduate in certain categories.

Look at the figures, for instance, in one particular category as an extreme example. If you happen to be over the age of 35, have 5 or more years of college, and have been formerly married, the U.S. Census Bureau in 1978 listed 22,000 Black women in that category. If you look up the tables for the same category for Black men the census bureau does not list any. Again, that is a bit of a questionable ratio of 22,000 Black women to no Black men. Because of statistical variations, there were fewer than 500 Black men, therefore they did not list any. If we are optimistic, we can assume that there were 499 Black men in that category. That still left us with a ratio of 22,000 Black women to 499 Black men, which is a ratio of 38 Black women for every one Black male.

Obviously that is a rather restricted category. Five or more years of college generally means a masters degree, over the age of 35, and been formerly married. Although there are a very large number of Black women who are over the age of 35 who have been formerly married, they do not have to marry a man who is in exactly the same category, although their preference might be to do so. The point is that the situation is not that much better for college-educated Black women. In fact it is worse. In other ways it can be a better situation for them because they can marry down without losing that much; that is if you have a Ph.D, and you can marry down to someone who has a masters degree, or a bachelors degree or even a high school diploma. But if you have a high school diploma and start marrying down, then you're not talking about blue collar and white collar but you're often talking

about no collar — and that is a problem. It's much better to be a college-educated Black woman and to marry down than it is to be a high school-educated Black woman and marrying down.

Let us focus on solutions, which I believe is our mandate. Instead of talking about problems, because many of us are aware of the problems, we may not be aware of the causes. The solutions are there. They've always been there. The problem has always been: what price are we willing to pay for resolving the problem. We have a few success models we can look at. Perhaps we could use the model that the Chinese have used in this country. If you look at the divorce statistics, you'll see that the Chinese-Americans have almost the lowest divorce rate of any group in this country. It is said that if you marry a Chinese woman, that marriage is terminated only by death — not in the divorce court. They simply do not get divorced, at least not at their initiative. They also have one of the highest median family incomes. Although we should be cognizant of the fact that that high median family income is based on them having about the highest ratio of two-wage earner families in the U.S. If you simply look at per capita income, then the Chinese barely earn more than $200 a year more than the Black American male.

But they have the higher ratio of two-wage earner families, which means that the wife is generally working. They also have a very small number of one parent households. Also they have managed to make it to a certain degree in business by having all members of the family work in family-owned enterprises, such as restaurants. They often work 18 hours a day. One might ask, what accounts for the success of the Chinese-American family? What is so different about them than about any other group? The one thing that stands out is that it is about the most patriarchal family system in the U.S. It is quite clear who is in charge. The male adult is the unchallenged head-of-the-household. The male children are very, very valuable and much more desirable than female children. Even today in the country, The People's Republic of China, there are problems because they have gone to a one-child policy. If that first child is not a male then often that female child is aborted. It is a very male-dominated society and it is a society wherein for Chinese women the words you hear during a wedding ceremony "til death do us part" are taken seriously. And it may also be the reason why it is about the only group in this country with a suicide rate that is higher among women than among men. This is one success model. This is in no way condescending of or denigrating the Chinese culture. It works for them. It could probably work for Black Americans, if they're willing to pay the price for that kind of family system. You, too, can have an intact family or male/female relationships that are stable, if not happy.

Until the beginning of the 20th century, happiness was not much of an expectation for most people in America. People did not marry for love, but married to work together toward economic goals. Generally, they were in farms, and it was simply easier for men and women to work together to raise children in that kind of setting. Love was sort of an afterthought of the 20th century.

Marriage based on love is at best a bit fragile. First, because we do not have any real definition of what love is. We have surveys which show that love for most people lasts about an average of 14 months. That's the average, which means that quite a few last considerably less than 14 months.

Another success model for us can be traced back to our African ancestors. Rather than go back, we can look at contemporary Africa and the African family. Certainly whatever is happening to the Black family today is not genetic because the Africans have a more stable marriage system than white America. They have lower rates of divorce. You rarely hear about incest and rape in African societies, although it is increasing somewhat in the urban areas. There's very little divorce in African society and for good reasons. One reason is that the roles in African society are firmly fixed and again, like the Chinese-American family, is a patriarchy. Men are in firm control. Women may be strong, but the council of elders is generally made up only of males. In visiting Africa just a year ago,I found out that women are not allowed to eat at the same table with men.

Number two, possibly is the bride-price, a sort of compensation the man's family makes to the wife's family, helps to stabilize marriages. You may have to give ten head of cattle in order to purchase a bride. This, by the way, is not buying women, it is actually a compensation to her family for the loss of her services. If there is any kind of mistreatment, then she can leave and go back to her family and the man's family loses the 10 head of cattle. That helps to stabilize marriages.

Number three is polygamy, where men can have more than one wife. Every woman is assured of a husband in African society. Obviously, some of them are sharing but at least they know that they are sharing. Another outcome of polygyny that is that the husband has a certain amount of sexual variety in marriage that might act as a deterrent to any extra-curricular affairs he might be attempted to have. They tend to have their own deterrents to any female sexual adventures, at least some of them do. In East Africa where they perform cliteradectomy on the women. Which is a female circumcision of the clitoris performed in order to reduce any female sex drive. Hence, the roles are very clear. There is very little divorce in African society. All women have the opportunity to have a husband. There's a certain

amount of stability attached to knowing what your roles are. You do not have to vascilate between super Mom, the liberated woman, the traditional woman, and so forth. The society tells you what your role is. For the most part, you do not step out of that role because there are consequences in that particular society. You become, in essence, a pariah if you do not meet that role expectation. You, too, can have that kind of family system if you are willing to pay the price. It would be within the long line of African family tradition — the land from which you came.

If we are to look at the real success model for Blacks in the country, and if we really want to understand what leads to success in marriage, the group to examine would be college-educated Black males. Ninety percent of college-educated Black males are married and living with their spouses. This conference on the Black Family is not called to deal with that group because it is not perceived as having any problems and in reality is not having any problems — at least in finding a mate or being married. Their marital stability rate is about the same as for white college-educated males. They are not facing the same problems of an imbalance in the sex ratio which affects large numbers of college-educated Black women. They are not facing problems of "marrying up". For the college-educated Black male, a secretary, a waitress — anyone who meets "their program" is often deemed satisfactory as a wife. They do not have the problem of dealing with diverse standards, except those of physical attractiveness; and people tend to alter those to meet the demands of the marriage market. They do not have the problem of lower-income and no-income Black males of an inadequate income. Their income, as a rule, will be lower than that of white males, but still higher than the median income of most Black men in this country. Hence it is quite clear, that this one group, who represents, less than 10% of the Black male population and probably less that 4% of the total Black population, there is no real problem as it relates to marriage and the family. It is about the only group that has been spared the problem, primarily because it is about the only segment of the Black family, at least within a certain generation that does not face these economic and demographic problems.

They represent a success model and point the way to a solution. It shows, if nothing else, what can be done when Black men have a high level of education, and decent incomes. Thus, the real problem is that the over-whelming majority of Black men do not have that high level of education or level of income. It may not be the only solution, but certainly it suggests the way to solutions.

We have to deal with what is: And the reality of today's America is that almost half of Black men are not in the labor force. That means we have to deal with: one, the structural conditions that have kept them out the labor force; or two, we're going to have to come up with new or more creative values that can circumvent the problems of Black men being out of the labor force. I personally tend to opt for changing structural conditions, because it seems easier than changing personal value systems. At the same time, we at least need to know what those value changes are and how to go about making them. One of the changes we need is some redefinition of Black masculinity. A strange thing has happened in the last 25-30 years. On the one hand, we have an elevation of the concept of androgeny:

Men who are somewhat sexually ambiguous in terms of possessing both masculine and feminine roles. Conversely, we have hyper-macho concepts where to be a man is to be the Marlboro man, Budweiser-drinking person who can put a woman in her proper place. That is somewhat different from the concept of masculinity that prevailed during the 1950's and 60's. What we need is a definition of masculinity that can encompass behavior such as staying at home, taking care of the children, playing a nurturing role, being, so-to-speak, a house-husband. There is nothing necessarily wrong with being a house-husband. You can approach that role the same way you approach any other task in front of you. You can say, "if I'm going to be a house-husband, I'm going to be one of the best house-husbands. That I am going to show that I as a man can do certain so-called feminine tasks even better than the women have been doing them. That I will keep those children spotlessly clean, that I'll see that they get their lunches when they go off to school, that I'll take them to school, I'll pick them up from school, and if they're at home, then I'll read to them, I'll sing lullabies to them. When I clean the house, I'll wash those dishes so clean I'll be able to look at my face in them. That there won't be a spot of dust on that floor. I will be a house-husband because that is a decent and honorable role to play as long as it will keep the family intact and as long as it means the survival of the Black family. Maybe I don't have the reading and writing skills to get the kind of job I need in today's competitive economy; maybe I didn't finish my high school diploma; maybe there's such a recession in my particular industry that I'm certainly not going to be able to find work for awhile." But your dignity, your self-respect does not have to be tied up with a job. One of the reasons that women outlive men in this country is that they've always had other forms of support, other sources of self-esteem to sustain then throughout life. Friendships, family ties, religion. They live 8 to 10 years longer than most men. But the average male in this country dies about 1 year after they retire from their job, because everything they have in life is tied up in

tied up in that job. Their friendships are on that job; source of self-esteem, source of power-controlled authority, is all in that job. And when the job is gone, so is everything else that was good and positive about them.

If we are going to overcome this present situation, it is fairly clear we can either get about 4 million Black men into college, and see that they have a higher graduation rate than the 12% they have in the University of California system. Within a 4-year period of the Black men who entered the University of California, only 12% of them graduated. We can either have massive Black male enrollment in college with high graduation rates or we will have to carve out new or more creative values that can somehow help to sustain the Black family in the face of the numerous threats to its existence.

Let us be clear that these conferences are not frivolous efforts on the part of people. They reflect a genuine and urgent attempt to deal with what can only be called a crisis. One demographer estimated that approximately 7% of Black children born in the year 1990, will spend all their lives with two parents. Or, put another way, 93% of Black children born in 1990, will live in a one-parent home sometime in their lives.

There are other parameters of this particular problem, the ones of single-parent homes and whether single-parent homes are inherently pathological or whether it is simply a lack of sufficient income. Single Black parents earn something like 1/3 the income of Black married couples, where both the husband and the wife are working and they generally have more children. So what you have is a situation where a parent has 1/3 of the resources of that married couple with more children to support. The literature is fairly clear: that problem children are much more likely to come out of one-parent households. It is not an absolute relationship, but there is a very strong positive correlation. We can assume it is due to the poverty that is more likely to characterize female-headed households. We can also assume that there are other things that happen, related to the absence of a male, the lack of a constant role model — fatherly discipline, etc. We know that statistically your chances are much greater of becoming a delinquent and winding up in prison, unemployed, with low reading scores, etc., if you live in a one-parent household, while there are also examples of very successful children coming out of those households. The general pattern is much more negative than positive in today's society, particularly those one-parent households likely to be headed by teen-age mothers.

But the solution is there. We have any number of models before us. We have the Chinese-American family that shows how minority families can be stable in the United States. But it exists at a very high cost to women. We have the African family which shows that Black people can have very stable family systems. If they have firmly fixed roles, a strong kinship system and a set of norms that can enforce those family roles. We have college-educated Black males that show us that if Black men do have a fairly high level of education and a decent income, they choose a stable marital life, 9 out of 10 of them are married and living with their wives.

Thus, we have these models, models of success that carry with them price tags, even the one of being college-educated requires a fairly high price. It means giving up some of the temptations of a consumer society; it means deferred gratification; means staying in a library rather than going out on the athletic field; it means looking at books rather than listening to music. But the price and the failure to pay it are clear, and we can ignore this at our own peril. I'll conclude with a saying, by the late Ernest Hemingway that, do not ask for whom the bells toll, they toll for me and they toll for thee.

Thank you.

Population or People: Setting Up the World for Our Children

by Asa G. Hilliard, III, Ed.D., Georgia State University

I will try to share with you some things that I consider to be critical. I've entitled my presentation ***Population or People: Setting Up the World for Our Children.***

There's a story that I will start with, one that I've used before that will perhaps capture the essence of the basic message that I would like to share with you. It's a story that grows out of a true experience of looking at how sheep dogs are trained. How dogs are trained, but particularly how sheep dogs are trained. I had the opportunity one day, just by accident, sitting in my living room, to turn on one of those channels about animals and there was this program on that explained something I wondered about for a long time. Which was, how it is that you could get a dog to do unnatural things for dogs. Things such as going around when a man whistles, herding sheep and the man doesn't have to move. The man can sit down under a tree, whistle and a dog will get sheep number one and bring him back to the pack. This was just boggling my mind. I couldn't figure out how that happened. Then they showed how it happened. The way that happens is that when the dog that is going to become a sheep dog is born, it is immediately taken out of its litter and isolated from its brothers and sisters. It will never see its mother or father again. Then it is given a new mother and new father, supposedly, new brothers and sisters. It is put in the pen with sheep who will later be its charges. It nurses on a sheep mother, it takes this alien diet and doesn't drink dogs milk. It is raised by a sheep. What you get when you finish is an animal that in every way has the intelligence of its species, an intelligent dog. It is also an animal that maintains its strength. Those are the qualities that the sheep owner wants. The only thing wrong is it's program has gone wrong. Now this dog will see its own brothers and sisters as the enemy. This dog would see its own mother and father as its enemy. It would see sheep as its brothers and sisters in place of its own family. It seems to me there's something that is peculiar about a dog who might even be hungry, for example, and what it had seen before as food, it now looks at and starves to death. It would chase all other dogs away from this food.

So, it seems to me that in looking at that, it helps to explain a lot of things about what happens to people that causes them, in the end, to fall apart as a people and to turn into what Diop has called a population, not a people. A population is made up merely of isolated individuals who happen to be collected together at any given point and time. But a people has some sense of glue, some sense of unity that permits it to organize itself and to do certain kinds of things that will advance its causes. It appears to me that what's been happening to us is that we have been drifting. Steadily drifting from the status of people to the status of population.

There are certain things about the way that we socialize ourselves and our children that have caused a gradual erosion in those things that enable us to see ourselves as belonging together. What we see, increasingly, is that every dog for himself. We are not even sure that we're "dogs" anymore. That we have passed "high" on the sheep aptitude test, but we have passed "low" on the dog aptitude test, because we do not commit ourselves, to ourselves, as a people anymore.

There are reasons for it. Dubois was one the the first people to identify this reason. He said in the *Souls of Black Folk*, "After the Egyptian, the Indian, the Creek, the Roman, the Tuton, the Mongolian, all people, the Negro is a sort of seventh-son, born with a veil, gifted with second sight in this American world. A world which yields him no true self-consciousness." This is the hub of the problem, this is where the sense of unity begins to become unravelled. When there's no sense of self-consciousness. But only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world. Then he goes on and gives the name to this phenomena. "It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness. This sense of always looking at oneself through the eyes of others. This sense of measuring one's soul (the deepest part of you) by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. This sense of double-consciousness." This is something that Dubois spotted back in 1903 in his book, *The Souls of Black Folk*. I suspect that by 1985, if Dubois were alive again, he might even begin to wonder if some of us don't have

triple, quadruple, quintuple consciousnesses that require us to see ourselves multiplically through the eyes of everyone else but ourselves. I'm suggesting to you that this is the root of some of the problems that we face right now. Certainly, we face problems of prejudice, poverty, but those problems have greater impact upon us because of the disintegration of our sense of peoplehood and our drift into a sense of population.

Carter Woodson also spotted the same problem that Dubois spotted, when he talked about the fact that he could see how it was that we were being educated away from ourselves. In his book, written in 1933, called, *Mis-Education of the Negro,* he said, "It may not be important to the race today to be able to boast of as many times as many educated people." In 1933, by that time we had begun to get more degrees, more high school diplomas, and greater literacy. But there was an uneasiness, as Carter Woodson assessed where we stood. He said, "It doesn't matter if you have that many educated members as you had in 1865, or more than that, if they are of the wrong kind. Then the increase in numbers will be a disadvantage rather than an advantage The only question which concerns us here, is whether these educated persons are actually equipped to face the ordeal before them, or unconsciously contribute to their own undoing by perpetuating the regime of the oppressors. Herein lies no argument for the oft contention that education for the white and black should mean different things. The element of race does not even enter here. It is merely a matter of exercising common sense — approaching people through their environment to deal with conditions as they are, not the way you want them to be. There may be a difference in the methods of attack but the principle remains the same." Carter Woodson continues,

> "Highly educated Negroes denounce persons who advocate for the Negro education that may be in some respects different from that now given white people. Negroes who have been so long inconvenienced and denied opportunities for development are naturally afraid of anything that sounds like discrimination. They are anxious to have everything the white man had, even if its harmful. The possibility of originality in the Negro is therefore discounted one-hundred per cent to maintain a nominal equality. If whites take up Mormonism, Negroes have to do the same thing. The author, however, does not have this attitude. He considers an educational system as it has developed in Europe and America, an antiquated process, which doesn't hit the mark even in the case of the white man himself. If the white man wants to hold onto it, let him do that. But for the Negro, so far as he is able, he should develop and carry out a program of his own."

That is especially true for us when it comes to what we do about our children. I would like to talk a bit about the children. I would also like to talk about us and why it is that we appear to be having some of the problems that we are having with our children at this time. But in order to talk about us, I need to go back, just for a moment and recreate the story of our African beginnings. For a simple reason, that is that as I travel around the country, we have no memory of who we are. We are not able to tell the story to ourselves, and therefore, we cannot tell the story to our children. Any group of people who cannot tell its own story from the beginning up to the present is a group of people that you have to describe as having amnesia. Amnesia is a mental illness. Amnesia is a disease that leaves you disoriented, unable to focus your attention and set a direction. You can't tell where you're going because you don't know where you've been and probably can't even tell where you are. In other words, the past is the thing that tells you what the present is and what the future can be.

"You have no clock," this is what John Henrik Clark, that great African-American historian out of New York says. "It takes history to give you a map and a clock. That's what history is." People would ask him, "Why is it that you spend so much time talking about old times?" He said, "What good is it to know these kinds of things?" Clark asked the man, "Why do you carry a watch?" The man said, "I want to know what time it is." He said, "That's why you need history, so you'll know what time it is." For that reason, any presentation that gives us a full sense of what it is we're up to and what we're about, has to reach back to our roots.

Let me just remind us of the kind of historical background that we come from as a people. Then will we be able to see what it is that we're truly up against, because our beginning did not begin in slavery. We did not start there. That's late in the chapters of African and African-American history. Our beginning begins at the beginning. It begins about 5 million years ago because it begins as the human family when there was no other family. There were only African people 5 million years ago. It appears that somewhere around 5 million years ago, God got interested in experimenting. He decided that this experiment would be conducted on one continent only out of all of the continents. The only place where God experimented, playing around, deciding how he wanted to make man, or how she wanted to make man. We're not quite sure what God

was, and still aren't sure. It doesn't really matter. But it's important that God decided — or I wouldn't be trying to recall what God did. But six times God tried to come up with something that God could be satisfied with. This is the record that we see now. Six times God tried around the lake Nzanza (Lake Victoria) that became the nurturance for the whole human family; 5 million years ago.

The first time God tried, he came up with something that they call today, Australopithegus Robustus. That is one of the first of the six species of homonids, according to the people who give names to things like that. So there's a family of those, and everytime you look for these, you will find them in one place only. In other words, out of these six times that God tried to experiment, the first three times were only in Africa. That's the only place you can find these bones, today.

The next times God tried the experiment, he made Australopithecus Gracile and Homo Habilus who both died out. They probably were not perfect; but they certainly never developed the capacity to leave the African continent. Isn't that interesting.

Homo Habilus, represented the first time that anything that walked on two legs could make two. That's what Homo Habilis means — two-making man. That was also an experiment that was conducted at the same place. It is interesting that every time you dig up these bones, they always seem to be found around the lake that they call Victoria. On the equator. It seems that was a nice place; a warm spot for God to do this work. Homo Habilis never left the continent of Africa.

Finally there were three more times that God experimented before he got it right. The first time that God experimented, he got ? they call that one homo erectis. That's the one you used to read about in your books, because they didn't know about ? , at the time many of you were in school and certainly not when I was in school. ? was developed, also in the navel of the African continent, around that great lake. Then they had one they called Neanderthal. This is interesting because for a long period of time when they were searching for the origins of early man, they were so certain that the highest developed form of a human being, (that human beings first were different from each other) were the forms that were created in Europe, that Europeans were the highest form. So they looked in Europe for oldest man and they only pushed back the date of early man to 500,000 B.C. Then they said well, if it can't be in Europe, perhaps, it could be in China. Then they went to China, and they could push back the date of early man to 1 million B.C. Eventually, they had to come home because there was no other place to find early man than where early man had started. All early man started on the continent of Africa.

So they had to go back to the equator, again and begin to look some more. When they found Neanderthal, people felt that this was at least the one case that had not initiated in Africa. So help us, as it stands, the oldest Neanderthal is found in the Nile Valley. Again, not in Neander Valley in Europe.

Finally, the sixth time that God experimented, these last two ultimately did leave the continent of Africa and began to go out to China, and later in Europe. The last time God experimented he finally got it right, he got something called Homo Sapiens Sapien. That's you and me. Homo Sapiens goes back 130 thousand years, on the continent of Africa. These three began to go over the world. Two of them died out, Neanderthal died out and the Homo Erectis died out. The only one that was left is the one that we know today. He was born on the equator, And because he was born on the equator, there's a rule in biology that says, "Any creature that lives in hot climates secretes something that helps them protect their skin from the sun, called melanin. We know because of the fact that that's a biological law, that says that creatures born in hot climate secrete melanin. When anthropologists and archeologists and others try to recreate the human family to what they looked like 5 million years ago when they put skin on the bone, they always put dark skin on the bone. It would have been impossible for them to be anything other than dark people. In other words, the first people of the world were both African and Black. Let me see if I can make it as explicit as I can, because I don't want to have any confusion about this.

What we have seen, as a result of migrations to other parts of the world, is the variations that occur, primarily, no basic variations. Superificial variations that occur in human beings, as a result of the fact that they go somewhere and start eating different foods. Go so far north that they don't get enough sunshine. So they adapt to that northern climate and everybody is able to fit in with the climate, and with the food supply that they happened to have. These are not important differences, except in general survival terms, but that's how we explain what we have. For a long time, they tried to say God experimented and made Homo Sapiens in four places at the same time. Made them over in Asia, in Europe, and there are these different races. That's the kind of foolishness that was produced around the late 1800's, mid 1800's and up to now. But that never happened. In fact, what happened was, as a result of God's experiments, some people had a longer time to get ready for civilization than others. The people who stayed home had more familiar surroundings to work with. Not only did Africa produce the first homanids,

the first human type being, it also produced the first nations in the history of the world. Some of these we know about only because of indirect information. The best evidence that we have indirectly is that there was a vast development of civilized behavior in an area of Africa, first in the world called Cush. Later, called Ethiopia, by the Greeks and Romans because of the appearance physically of the people. In the Greek language, the word Ethiopian means burnt face or black-face people. That's why they called them Ethiopians. But the people didn't call themselves Ethiopians. They called themselves Cushites. It was these Cushites that continued to move from the heart of Africa, on the equator, down the Nile and push out throughout the rest of the world and populate the rest of the world.

There was a beautiful sister that wrote a book in 1926, called *The Wonderful Ethiopians of the Ancient Cushite Empire,* Drucilla Houston. It was the first person, perhaps, that truly comprehended the vast expansion of Black people all over the world, starting from Cush and populating and civilizing the rest of the world, because they had the good fortune of being in the location that permitted them to develop civilization first.

Then pushing further north on that same river, the Nile, for four thousand miles, what we began to see, then, is the development of the first records of civilization. It's unfortunate that they don't teach us geography anymore. But hang your Africa map in your head for a moment. Remember, the big lake that we started at is in the middle of it. As we go north, we go down north, in Africa, you don't go up north. You go up south, because the river flows downhill. You're going down into the north, from your home and as you're going, developing the valley; this rich, fertile valley which permitted people to sit in the valley for almost ten thousand years. The first nation, then, in the history of the world that is recorded, is a nation called, The Land of the Bow, in their terms, Tahsetee. From that nation, the oldest recorded civilization, that of Egypt, would be developed. Which the people called Kimit. In other words from Tahsetee these Black kings moved north into Egypt and unified the country, and that country then became Egypt, the very first king of Egypt, came from the south.

All the kings of Egypt, during all of its developmental period came from the south. It is from that point that the African family begin to influence the world in a serious way for over three thousand years.

In fact, it was from that point, for almost six-hundred fifty years, the higher education of Europe was in the hands of the African people. Almost all of your Greek scholars went to Africa and were taught by African people. Starting about the time of Homer, we know for sure that the serious scholars like Plato, Aristotle, Socrates, Archimedes, and ? all these people went to Africa and got their masters degrees and doctors degrees, because that's where the faculties were. That was the only place they were going to be able to go. That went on for almost six hundred fifty years, starting about three hundred years before the birth of Christ and continuing on after the death of Christ, at the time when the Christian church was founded officially at the council of Nice and became a competitor for the African belief system at which time the Roman government which had politicized the religion at that point, moved into Africa and wiped out the Ancient African educational systems and we began a period that has been described by a period of two thousand seasons of conquering by foreign powers.

Sometimes there were Asian powers, there were Moslems powers, there were Christians. They were different people, but the destruction of the African family began somewhere around the time, just before Christ with Alexander the Great. Then taking a period of almost six hundred years, for an intense period of destruction. Gradually, after that we began to retreat, as Chancellor Williams says it, from the seacoast where we would have had power, such as our great cities of Carthage, which would have been on the Mediterranean. We moved back from those places, into the interior of the continent and began to live back in the jungles and places that were much harder to develop and lost our ability to maintain contact with the rest of the world. We regressed as a people and have been under seige since that time. Especially during the time of slavery.

It's important to realize one thing, that at no point have African people ever lost the battle, completely, to remain a people. It hasn't even been threatened until recently. It's been in this century. To be very specific, it's been in the last twenty to thirty years. We have begun to see the threat to the existence of a group of people and have become more of a population.

Let me see if I can give you an example of what I'm talking about. When African people were pushed back from the seacoast and when they were taken off the African continent in slavery; and when we were brought here, to the western hemisphere, there were those who fought back and refused to knuckle under to slavery. As a matter of fact, there were some who were quite successful in not knuckling under to slavery. Dubois understood something about this group. I hope that you will stick with me because there is a principle of survival to be learned from what happened with these particular groups that I'm talking about. They're called Maroons. The maroons were groups of slaves who escaped from the plantation and went off into the

bush and developed new, independent communities, because they insisted on being in charge of their own destiny. This was a vast movement. It's not something that you read about in your history books. Your children will not learn about these things in schools. You will not get this when you go to the universities. But this was a critical, and important movement for Black people, which was understood by Dubois.

First let me show how extensive it was. Maroons were called by a lot of names. These people who got away from the plantations, especially in America, in South America. You don't know them because you don't recognize the name. For example, if you get down in Central America, Mexico, they were called, Polinkes, or they were called Quilimboes, or they were called Macombas. Sometimes they were called Kumbes, sometimes they were called. Sometimes they were called. They had heroic leaders in the maroon areas. For example, in the area of Panama, remember Balboa found that there were Africans in Panama when he got there in 1513. There's nothing new about Black people in Panama. Most of our children don't even know that Panama is a predominately Black country, because that's not what's taught. They are unable to recognize them, just like the sheep dog. Unable to recognize their own brothers when they see them, because they've been raised on a sheep mother. In Panama was one of the major leaders in the maroon group. There was a man named Miguel in Venezuela, who was a leader of a maroon group. Domingo Bisko in Columbia, was a leader of a maroon group. That means isolated groups of Africans who insisted on independence. There was Yonga in Mexico in a place called San Lorenzo de Los Negros. That means St. Lorenzo of the Blacks. He led that country for almost a hundred years, from 1609 to 1698. In Cuba there was a maroon village that was called Poblado del Cobre, which is located in the place where Fidel Castro was born in Orienta Province. Again in that area the maroon village lasted almost a hundred years.

In Equador, Esmeraldo's Province was dominated by a group called the Zambas, near the end of the sixteenth century for almost a hundred years. There were also maroon villages from 1672 to 1884 in the United States in South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, Louisiana, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, and in Alabama. In Brazil there was a whole African state called the state of Palamides.

Today there remain a few of these communities and their remnants. For example, you can go to South America, today, to the country of Surinam, and in Surinam you have the remnants of African communities that have gone up those river valleys and created three new tribes. They came in as a number of old African tribes. They got off the boat, ran away as slaves; went into the interior, up three river valleys, and now you have the Njuka, and the (?) who have been there since almost four hundred years of freedom. Since they first started they have been free and they remain furiously intent on maintaining their independence and their sense of peoplehood.

Why is that important? It's important because if you look at the question of independently-oriented Black leadership in our history ask yourself, where they came from? Why is it that disproportionately so many of the leaders, the true leaders of Black people in the whole of the last hundred years or so, have come out of the Caribbean? There aren't that many Blacks in the Caribbean compared to the number of us here in the United States. Our leadership here, much of it has come out of the Caribbean. I don't come from the Caribbean. I come from Texas, unless you want to put Texas in the Caribbean. There's a whole history of leadership coming out of the Caribbean.

Let me be very specific. It was Toussaint L'Overture who lead an army of slaves that liberated Haiti from the French. In fact, defeated three separate European armies. The only time in the whole history of the world that a slave has led a slave army and defeated the army of a developed nation. Changed Napoleon's mind about colonializing the western hemisphere. Otherwise, we'd be sitting here talking in French, this morning, because Napoleon had some plans for the United States. But Toussaint changed his mind and sent him back over to Africa. He said, "You go over there and try to find your place, because if you're looking for a colony, this is not the place that you will find it."

The point is, that Toussaint, himself came from a family of maroons. Toussaint L'Overture was the product of a meeting that was held in a place that was called Boy Came In For Us. The leader of the group of secret people who decided that they were going to get their freedom, was a man named, Bookman. This was a priest. He was the one who had maintained the traditional values, and the traditional religion and because of that he could not see himself as a slave. It was that meeting in that forest, that gave the inspiration to people to take up arms and to overthrow their oppressors which was then lead by Toussaint L'Overture.

Isn't it interesting that it is out of that same Caribbean area, that much later will come a man named Marcus Garvey. Who also came from a maroon base. In other words, it was the maroon base which led him to believe that he was not born to be a slave. Marcus Garvey, in the early part of this century, the only man in the whole history of the world, the whole history of America, led a mass movement of Black people. There

had been no mass movement of Black people until Marcus Garvey first led that movement of Black people. But it was a mass movement that had an impact on the whole African world. (This is the part; when your children go to school and are taught the history of our people, this one is overlooked, they tip-toe around this one.) They show him sometimes in the history books, and he is sitting in the back of this convertible. He has a feather in his hat, and you look, and your first remark is "Isn't that ridiculous? Look at all those medals and this, that and the other?" That is what you focus on. But I dare you to read *The Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey*. What he did was to electrify the population in this country and had two million people marching in New York City. Organized all kinds of activites that were directed toward self-development.

If you go to Africa and ask any African leader, Kwame Nkrumah said that the most important book that he read before he was able to take over his rightful leadership position in Ghana, was *The Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey*. What Jomo Kenyatta said was that one of the most important books that he read was *The Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey*. The people in Kenya, when they were trying to liberate Kenya from their oppressors, used to sit down in villages at night and they would wait for the people who got one newspaper and they would pass that paper around to the young men who would memorize the entire newspaper that came from Garvey and then go out to all the villages in Kenya, they would run from one village to the other, and recite what they had memorized from the newspapers to hundreds of people who were clustered around, waiting for words of inspiration that would tell them that they were not born to be slaves.

If you ask Kenneth Kaunda, the same thing happened. If you ask down in South Africa, if you ask down in what used to be Rhodesia, what is now Zimbabwe, that message of the fact that you are not born to be slaves, that you are born to be people who self-determine your future was spread by that man. Very important person who is completely overlooked, because he doesn't fit the mold, because he is not a sheep dog, because he comes from a maroon family; one that insists upon asserting an independent direction and the right to do that. These are the lessons of the Caribbean.

Isn't it interesting, we know that there are people who lead, who come from other places. We've had fantastic leaders who have come from other places. I'm just pointing out the fact that so many in terms of so few have come from those places and that so many of them have in common one thing, and that is that they have a history of a maroon background.

Why is it that out of one little country this country of Guyana, why is it that you know it for Jim Jones. Why is it that you don't know it for George G.M. James. Out of this one little country of Guyana three of our most important Black scholars in the history of the world have come. George James, who is one of the people who finally decided, after he had an education in the classics, that means that he studied Greek and Roman, and could speak it fluently and read it fluently. He began to read the classical literature. He said, "There's something about this story that's not coming through." He says, "I'm reading things here that they leave out when they write the textbooks." He says, "I'm going to write a new textbook." He wrote a book called *Stolen Legacy*, showing that the legacy that we now think is Greek, came from Africa. It was George James who first put it together in a fashion that would enable people to understand what had taken place. Coming out of Guyana. It was Ivan Van Sertima, who finally pulled together, from a variety of places, oceanography, cartography, space, history, philosophy and a variety of fields. Multi-disciplinary fields, a new story of when Black people first came to this country. It wasn't at the time of slavery. It was before the time of Columbus, and before the time of Christ. He was the one who understood it. Coming out of Guyana.

It was Marcus Garvey. It was Walter Rodney, coming out of Guyana, who finally understood not only the fact that African people were colonized in Africa, but he understood the rules by which it occurred. He wrote about it in his book, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. It is interesting that many of these men went to the same high school. Were taught by the same teachers. In other words, there was something about that network that tended to produce an overabundance of leaders from a small group of people. What I'm saying to you is, it comes from a kind of community that has a consciousness of itself, that sees itself as a people not merely as a population.

If we look at what African people have, the things I would like to have you pick up, the themes that are running through what I'm trying to say, is that basically our history shows us that we can look for culture origins of our people, that we can look for cultural unity among our people, that we can look for cultural continuity among our people, and that we can look for the fact that culture has meaning to us among our people. Those are the four things that I want you to pick up. That what we are came from somewhere. That what we are is shared among all of us. That what we were in Africa, stayed with us when we got here, we haven't lost all of it. We've only lost consciousness of it. Everybody hasn't lost it, and all of us haven't lost everything. But that what we were, we still have, and what we

have, has some value to us. It's more than just cosmetics. There's a reason for it. Any group of people in the world, that is a strong group of people, sees that they share in a cultural base. Anytime that you surrender that culture base, you don't have anything to pass on to your children.

This is why so many of our children are in trouble. We've got two groups of African American children in this country right now, for the most part. We've got the ones who've got money, and the ones who don't have money. Both of them are in trouble. Even the ones who graduate, and the ones who don't graduate, are in trouble. Don't believe that just because they get a thousand on the SAT, that they are successful. Don't believe that just because they get a degree from Harvard University that they are successful. There's something else that has to be answered that determines whether or not they are successful, and that is whether they have any committment to the rest of us. If that's all that they've done is to fix it for themselves, they haven't done anything.

We started out with whole children that's something else we need to know. It's interesting when Marcel Gilbert did her studies of infant development in Uganda. It's interesting that it took place in Uganda. We have, by accident, some information on the African American child and we have some information on African families and African-American families. Marcel Gilbert, doing studies on nutrition in Uganda, found out that she had the brightest, most highly developed children that she had ever seen anywhere in the world, from some of the poorest mothers that she had seen anywhere in the world. It turned child development theory upside down. Up until that point, the idea was that the more money you had, the better developed your children were going to be. The better hospital care you had, the better developed your children were going to be. It turned out that that is not necessarily the truth. These little children were taking the developmental tests in Uganda, who were passing six months, in some cases, in front of their western counterparts. They were always a few weeks in front on physical development, as well as on mental development. They shook their heads. They said how could this be? In the first place, they're hungry, malnourished, and certainly they don't have the advantages of civilized behavior, and yet these children seemed to be intellectually as bright as any that we have ever seen anywhere.

That study went into the literature in 1956, into the child development literature. I was going to school after that and no one ever called that to my attention; it was just ignored. Then later on, Mary Ainsworth picked up the study and wondered whether the thing was still true or not. She decided she would do some studies and see if these children were still bright. She went back and looked at the literature on child development in Uganda, in Johannesburg, and in Dakkar. That takes us from East Africa, to South Africa, to West Africa. They found that no matter where you picked up Black children on the continent of Africa, the same was true, twenty years later that had been true twenty years earlier. Not only that, but they found that if you followed these children all the way to the United States, and looked at what was happening with African -American children, ask any nurse that works today on a maternity ward, what is it that she can say about African-American children. She'll tell you that they come out popping. Their eyes are open, they're ready to play, they're almost talking. They just seem to be a bundle of energy. In a couple of weeks time, you can pull them up into a sitting position, they'll hold their heads straight up and look you dead in the eye. That's what they were doing.

These norms for these children were so far in advance, people have known that for a time, that they had to have an explanation for it. It's interesting that when we are ahead, the explanation is environment. When other people are ahead, the explanation is genetics. But this time it was genetics, 'cause we were here. They said they must have something that they're being taught; they didn't come here better than other people, they just had certain things that they were being taught. Well as it turns out that's true, that they had some things that were being taught, some things that those mothers did that would lead us into the right path if we wanted to draw on our own resources, which is African patterns of raising children. If we wanted to do that today, first, we would be doing what the rest of the world is beginning to do. After these studies, showing how fast these children were, they did study how African mothers raised their children. Much of what you see in child development today is simply a copy of what was being done by African mothers in Uganda and in Johannesburg.

For example, feeding your baby by your breast, African mothers knew that mother's milk was better than cow's milk. They didn't need any degress to tell them that. African mothers knew that it's good for you to not rush the birth process. Labor induction and pain killers, that anything that mother gets goes straight across the placenta and eight minutes later, the baby gets the same thing that the mother gets. What you will see as the recommended practices are taking account of what was learned from the study of how African mothers raised their children.

Basically, on the continent, we had whole children. There was nothing wrong with our babies when they left Africa. There was also nothing wrong with our

babies when they're born here. They start out ahead, that's both physically and intellectually. There's actually nothing wrong with our babies by the time they get to kindergarten, in other words, if you do the kinds of tests that schools normally do and find out what is happening to the children in kindergarten, we're pretty much on a par with other people. Something happens to our children as a result of the treatment they receive in school. This is where the problem occurs.

We know why what happens in school happens, it's a lack of faith. People look at our children and don't believe they can do anything. Then there's differential treatment; expulsions, suspensions, disproportionate treatment, disproportionate placement in special education, tracking, poor counseling, any number of things that are all too familiar to you, that wind up distorting the development of African American children.

There's one answer that's left, which is that the family has to take a different attitude. It has to take a maroon attitude to what is supposed to happen with us and our children. You could leave to the schools those things which schools can do. You must demand from the schools that they do it as well as the schools can do it. But over and beyond that, you must take charge of the socialization process of African-American children. You must do it! There is no way that anyone will ever teach African-American children, other than African-American people, the things that they need to know. That means that we must become, if we are to become a people, instead of a population, that it's our energies, through the organizations we have. Churches have already been mentioned, and that has of course sustained us. Had it not been for churches, we would not have been here. But we're going to have to expand the role that churches play. We're going to have to expand the roles that other organizations play. We're going to have to set up formal educational structures outside, privately. Do not go to the Ford Foundation asking for the money to do this. Do not go to the federal government asking for money to do this. Because he who pays the piper, calls the tune. The tune that you may be required to play, may not be the one that we want them to hear. We don't want sheep dogs; what we want are independent Black people who have a concept of themselves and the courage to express it. The only way that we will get there is by taking charge of the socialization process for our children.

Thank you very much.

The Black Child

by Jean Childs Young, M.A., Educator, Atlanta, Georgia

In the United States of America with all its beauty and rich resources, poverty flourishes. Those who are most likely to be poor are the children. Those who are poorest of the poor are minority children. "Black children are more than three times as likely as white children to be poor: 42 percent versus 13.4 percent. Over half of all children in female-headed families are poor; 65 percent of Black children in such families are poor" (Children's Defense Fund, 1982, p.3). The younger you are the more likely you are to be poor.

Twice as many Black babies die during the first year as white babies. Twice as many who survive have low birth weights, contributing to numerous health and developmental problems.

In her book, *A Portrait of Inequality* (1980), Marian Wright Edelman begins with the dramatic statement, "A Black child still lacks a fair chance to live, learn, thrive and contribute in America." This may be an indictment of our nation, but for our purposes it is more significantly a challenge to each of us here. We must continue to work even more vigorously to correct these agonizing injustices that inhibit the development of our children.

Let me discuss for a moment the situation closer to home — the problems of Black families in Georgia. They face similar circumstances as those of Black families in the nation as a whole. Boxill (1985) documents that 30 percent of all Black Georgia families live on incomes below the poverty level. (Nationwide is 32.4 percent, U.S. Census 1983). In Georgia the poverty level is less than $10,200 for a family of four. Fifty percent of all Black Georgia female heads of households live in poverty. This poverty status is, of course, accompanied by substandard housing, poor health, unemployment, inadequate child care and curtailed opportunities.

The poverty of the Black family is well-documented. It is the most critical problem facing a great percentage of Black children. While we must address this enormous problem, there are other equally distressing difficulties that are confronting all Black children.

Education

Education, the acquisition of information, skills and knowledge, is the birthright of every American child. Black children, as a group, are being severely short-changed in their legitimate rights. Boxill (1985) states, "Although Black children comprise only thirty-three percent (33%) of the school-age population, they represent forty-six percent (46%) of all students suspended, forty-three percent (43%) of all students receiving corporal punishment, sixty-five percent (65%) of all Educable Mentally Retarded (EMR) students and fifty-six percent (56%) of all Trainable Mentally Retarded (TMR) students in the state." (p. 40) Obviously, the state of Georgia is failing too many of its children and disproportionally failing its Black children.

On a national scope, Edelman (1985) notes that, "In school, a Black child faces a one in three choice of being in a racially isolated school and is twice as likely as a white child to be suspended, expelled, or given corporal punishment. A Black child is twice as likely as a white child to drop out of school, almost twice as likely to be behind grade level, three times as likely to be labeled educable mentally retarded, but only half as likely to be labeled gifted. The longer a Black child is in school, the farther behind he or she falls." (p. 8)

This is a very brief overview of the status of the Black child. Many areas have been omitted such as child abuse, drug abuse, foster care, teenage pregnancy, and youth employment, to name a few. A more comprehensive discussion is available in the U.S. National Commission Report to the President, International Year of the Child (1979).

The focus of my presentation is on providing a quality education for the Black child.

Educating the Black Child

I have identified five concepts that are essential if we are to adequately create an environment where Black children can learn. The first concept is:

1. *Knowing the Black Child.* We have to know the conditions, facts and circumstances that exist in the life of the Black child. Some of these have been described briefly. Not discussed, but essential to comprehending the Black child is knowing the history of Black people. This means knowledge of Black People on the African continent, as well as the legacy of Black Americans on this continent. This must include contemporary information on the circumstances of all Black families, not just the dire description I have given you of one-third of the Black families in this country. There also remains another two-thirds that are not living in poverty.

With a comprehensive knowledge of ourselves and our history we free ourselves and our children to accurately view ourselves and permit learning to occur.

The other concepts to be discussed are:

2. Understanding the Black Child
3. Affirming the Black Child
4. Instructing the Black Child
5. Saving the Black Child

2. *Understanding the Black Child.* We are primarily dealing with our interpretation of the culture of the Black child. Unless we adequately understand the Black child's reality, we cannot penetrate his/her world. We cannot know the child's point of reference. We cannot truly communicate with the child.

Too frequently, educators and teachers want to state their lack of differential treatment toward children. "They are all the same to me," they will declare, smug in their false sense of equality. Well when you hear that about your child, you know immediately you are in trouble.

I'm in the schools frequently — often because I promote a number of educational projects, sometimes because I have this energetic male child who looks authority figures in the eye and thinks his opinions are as valid as a teacher's. This one teacher whom he and others had disturbed once too often had sent a group of children out of the classroom, my son included. During the conference with the teacher, after an extended discussion, I asked if the children were all Black boys. The teacher, a white female, responded indignantly saying she didn't know what color they were. I knew then we had a serious problem. My response was rather curt as I asked, "Wouldn't you know if a child was fat or skinny, or a red head or a blond or Jane or Tom? How is it that you don't know whether they are Black?" It was a frustrating experience.

Unfortunately, though we tout individuality, we really wish that all children were the same, preferably like ourselves. Some think that denying racial awareness will make the problem of racism disappear. Children are different. People are different. This is not a question of fairness or equality as a human being. This is a recognition of the uniqueness and specialness of each individual and the collective characteristics of a given group because of their cultural orientation.

We know Black boys are unique — some walk with a swagger, they tilt their head, they shrug their shoulders in an "I don't care attitude." They have mannerisms that others look foolish trying to imitate. They verbally and nonverbally convey attitudes. These attitudes send signals of defiance to authority figures. They are interpreted by teachers as being hostile, incorrigible and impenetrable. The interpretation and reaction is generally considerably more intense than the youngster felt or even intended to convey with his body language. Teachers overreact to a little boy trying to act confident because they don't understand the cultural orientation.

I was called in not long ago about my son's attitude. I see him using his macho manner as a protective device — he's the Mayor's son and if he's not tough acting the other kids will give him a hard time. His best friend is shy and he uses a super-cool demeanor as his protective armor. Anyway, I was called to come to school to discuss my son's behavior. After a round-about discussion trying to get to the heart of the problem, this white male principal, for whom I have a great deal of respect, said, "Well, he just walks around as if he owns the school." (I secretly smiled to myself.) "Good for him," I thought, "children are supposed to feel the school is theirs." Schools are for the children. They are not built for principals to administrate or for teachers to be able to teach or for parents to organize. Schools are built for the children. Every child should feel the school is his or hers.

If we are to teach Black children the school is his or hers we have to be able to read these signals accurately and not allow our own insecurities to project adult attitudes onto the children. We have to understand child growth and development in general first, and then see the interlacing of culture on that development.

The uniqueness of the *learning* style of Black children is an area of research in which both Dr. Asa Hilliard and Dr. Hale-Benson are authorities. You can read their books to gain more insight on this subject.

Our youngest daughter, Paula, spent eight months in Gulu, Uganda teaching. She went to gain insight into Black American children. She could so clearly begin to understand the profound role of culture on what children know when they are tested and judged by another culture's standards. It is not so clearly defined within a nation, but the cultural differences exist, and if we are to effectively teach children, we must be sensitized to those differences.

The third dimension of education for the Black child is ***Affirmation*** — *knowing, understanding, affirming.*

Because of culture, because of limited resources and opportunities, because of racism and sexism, the Black child is more likely to encounter negativism and conflict in the classroom. We live in a put-down society in general, and our Black culture is loaded with put-downs, perhaps because we have had to mask our feelings so much because we have been the recipients of so much negativisms. It's easier to laugh off, ridicule and scorn things and one another, than to face them squarely and be hurt by rejection or face humiliation.

We as adults have to consciously counteract the negativism. It is not enough to talk about improving the child's self-image with pictures on the bulletin board. We have to affirm one another, express appreciation for one another — husband and wife, sister and brother, friend and associate, parent and child, teacher and student. Within the classroom and the home there must be opportunities created by the instructor and the parents where children not only say "I can do it" but tells his or her classmates "Lisa, you can do it," or "Robert, you can do it." Children need affirming by their peers. They need not only encouragement from adults but reinforcement from one another.

Stephanie Judson in *A Manuel on Nonviolence and Children* (1983) outlines affirmation activities and exercises. She suggests simple things such as each child receiving a day when every other child has to say something they admire or like about them. It's awkward — the children are giggly and reluctant initially, especially when the boys have to say something nice about a girl — but it creates new respect and confidence and appreciation among the children.

Conflict resolution as an approach to addressing violence within the schools is a tool out of our culture that can be used to counteract not only the violence of children toward one another, but the violence of adults toward children.

One account in Judson's records (1983) tells of a school experience in which no negative comments were permitted in the teacher's lounge. Only good things were to be said about children. The atmosphere of the entire school changed. (p. 6)

I recall the experience of a dear friend, Elizabeth Blackwell, who taught in an Atlanta public school. She had been instructed by her progressive principal that on Awards Day every child in the school would receive an award for some accomplishment. She agonized over what success she could attribute to this one little boy who had been a challenge from the first day of school. He was disruptive, had learning problems. Finally, she concluded that the award would read, "Tyrone Jones for developing Responsibility." I questioned my friend, given the behavior she had bemoaned regarding this child. Her face lit up and she said, "I said developing, and remembered he does put his chair under the table now."

These are simple affirmations, but each of us can recall a moment when we were praised and how good it made us feel about ourselves.

Respect for a person generates admiration and expressions of approval. But the respect erodes when the person displays unlikeable behavior. Therefore, we have to deliberately search for the positive qualities that every child has. Sometimes it's buried underneath an array of protective shields.

The Martin Luther King Center has been engaged in training teachers in nonviolence for several years through conferences dealing with affirmation. To affirm one another we have to know what we really have going for us. Many talk about the strengths of the Black family, and I simply want to rapidly identify a few *admirable qualities* I think we have as Black people.

Strengths Within the Black Family

a. ***Cultural Pride***

b. ***Early responsibility for self and sometimes siblings.*** Latch key children may be seen as self-reliant as opposed to neglected.

c. ***Religious orientation.*** From somewhere in that family — grandparents, parents, or aunts, there are religious values being expressed. One presenter mentioned earlier that church is a negligible influence in the lives of Black children today. The religious impact still exists in that family. (In Atlanta we have three services at some of our churches and waiting lines for services at others.)

d. ***Family Pride.*** "Your mama" is still fighting words, and we don't want anyone talking about our family.

e. ***We attach great importance to personal appearance.*** We like style — color, fashion, hats, shoes with it and coordinated, and creases in our jeans. Our ministers like to look good, our church sisters, our professionals and non-professionals. This is a plus, not to be put-down categorically. The consultants about dressing for success and wearing certain kinds of attire for job interviews and on the job. But modifications of the standard simply make us trend setters. Our daughter, Lisa, an engineer with IBM, hated the navy suit that appealed obligatory for the professional women. She noticed that Black women altered the look and still look professional when they wear their purple blazers with a black skirt.

f. ***Black folk like a creative identity*** — a speciality that's ours alone. (Now isn't this positive.) A stamp of individuality. How frequently is this seen as cockiness and impertinence and dirision. This is expressed most obviously among successful sports superstars — Billy "White Shoes" Johnson, when he does his little knee knocking dance after a touchdown; Yannick Noah hitting the tennis ball through his legs and scoring a point.

g. ***We have the capacity to contain our suffering and celebrate life.***

h. ***We can stretch a dollar as if it were rubber.***

i. ***Cope with adversity.***

j. ***Survive in at least two worlds with several languages.*** I have heard my children use four in the same day — one on the telephone with white school

friends, one with Black school friends, another at home, and still another polite "home-training language" in public. I don't want to stereotype.

k. ***Most of us are warm, loving, forgiving, caring people.*** Yesterday, Jawanza Kunjufu gave Black mothers somewhat of a scolding in regard to their sons, and I know some of it is justified, but I just want to pay Black women a compliment. My son is twelve. He moves about Atlanta fairly comfortably when necessary on MARTA, the rapid rail. He was going to the central library from school on the train. Bo is an attractive boy and he likes to dress nicely. He was approached by a young white male homosexual who tried to pick him up and then followed him. He managed to avoid him by going out another exit. It frightened me when he told me about the incident, but in discussing a strategy for him if it happened again, my first impulse before policeman or telephone or screaming, was to say next time, go to the first black woman you see and tell her what's going on. I had and have absolute confidence and faith that the protective instincts of that Black woman will listen to my son and protect him, regardless of her age, economic strata, or educational level. She could be a young professional or a mature housekeeper.

l. ***We are protectors.***

Let's remember these positive traits and affirm one another in our homes, schools, churches and communities. Sunday School still is one of the most affirming places I know. And if we haven't visited one recently, we would be pleasantly surprised.

Instructing the Black Child

Technology can be learning empowerment. Let's examine the characteristics of some of the new technology in the classroom.

There are two new programs that will soon be made available.

One is a video-encyclopedia being developed by the Corporation of Entertainment and Learning. (These are the people who produced Bill Moyer's Walk Through the 20th Century.) They have compiled seventy-five (75) hours of documentation of history recorded on film and edited it down to thousands of segments and put it on video cassettes. By using an index a child can select John Kennedy's inaugural speech, Martin Luther King in Memphis, or the first rocket in space and watch history as it occured. This revolutionizes a child's access to information. He or she is not reading *about* what a historical figure said, but is seeing him or her as they deliver their message. The child is also using a medium, the video cassette, that is a natural part of most young people's lifestyle.

Challenge young people to assume responsibility for one's own learning is a sermon we constantly preach. Technology can help make it a reality. The self-pacing, the appropriate amount of repetition, the removal of embarrassment because of failure, and the endless patience of a computer can empower young people by giving them control of their own learning.

We must see technology as a tool we can use to accomplish our goals.

An essential part of the instruction of Black children includes knowledge of Black people from the beginning of time. Instruction without knowledge of one's own history is not a complete education.

Saving the Black Child

We must all — parents, teachers, community leaders and church leaders — become advocates for our children. The Children's Defense Fund, under the guidance of Marian Wright Edelman, has refined advocacy to a fine art. The organization's guidelines give step-by-step ways of networking and lobbying to impact on policies and legislation that impact negatively on Black children.

Each of us must make a strong effort to be involved in politics, organizations and programs to bring quality education to each child.

In the U.S. National Committee Report (p. 107) it is stated, "Minority parents are particularly worried about what happens to their children in school through career counseling and tracking. Many feel that their youngsters are inadequately evaluated and consistently underestimated as counselors discuss their test scores and advise them what courses to choose. Counselors place disproportionate reliance on test scores, which may seriously misrepresent minority children's capabilities. Counselors do not give enough weight to these students' motivation (and I might add the motivation of their parents). Too frequently they are guided into course work that does not challenge their potential and that jeopardizes their future, whether they are going to a technical school or college."

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The Black Woman

by Anne H. Grant, Ph.D., Morehouse College

There's a saying in sociology that change is the only constant. Family life in the United States is changing. Our national family life is described as being in trouble. But as Vernon Jordan has observed, "When white America has a cold, Black America gets pneumonia." Unfortunately, then, whatever impacts negatively on the larger society wreaks havoc on Black America. We have spent the past several days exploring the various component parts, appendages, and influences impacting on the wholeness of the Black family.

This conference is a way of adding to the chorus of voices that are speaking out for our families. Black people in their own communities addressing their concerns in what Asa Hilliard would call traditional, tribal, familial, African ways. Saying what we can do for ourselves. This is an issue that has claimed my concern for at least twenty-two years since I made the decision to teach at Morehouse College, where Dr. Walter Chivers, an unsung early Black pioneer in the field of concern for family issues, had founded an annual family institute for the enlightenment of young Morehouse men, A.U. Center students, visiting high school students from the South Atlantic Region, and concerned faculty and staff. We heard such knowledgeable contributors as Robert Coles, John Hope Franklin, Lerone Bennett and countless others.

That institute, which my department has kept alive will celebrate its golden anniversary during this decade. But it was not easy getting from our first family institute to our fortieth. Along the way, many historic events conspired to change our focus from family in the generic sense, to a Black family focus. For at Morehouse, a college established for Black men in the private sector, more than a century ago, I have for many years been teaching a course called, "The Family". My students invariably raise questions regarding the relevance of what I was teaching for Black families. At first I was frustrated, over the dearth of available materials which related in any meaningful or positive ways to Black families. The little that was available was overwhelmingly negative.

Benjamin Quarles, a Black historian says, "When one looks through the studies that treat Black and Negro, one is cross-referenced to such headings as poverty, crime, desertion, disease, illegitimacy, and so on. All negative conceptions." What was I to do then about developing a course, and a family institute along the lines my students demanded? A frequently quoted slogan at Morehouse is "A century of progress building men." How was I to build men, Black men, if all I could present to them in a course about the family, was a negative conception of Black people? It was then that I remembered an African folktale, that goes something like this:

> A little African boy went every day to the mission school. When he came home, his father would ask, "Son, what did you learn in school today?" The boy replied, invariably, "The missionaries told us, again, that same old weary story about how the great white hunter kills the lion." The father said, "What troubles you about the story, son?" The boy replied, "Well, they tell us that the lion is brave and strong and is king of the jungle, so it just seems to me that if the lion is so brave and so strong that occasionally the lion would kill the white hunter." The father shook his head sadly and said "Son, until lions learn to write books, that's always the way that story will end."

Clearly, then it was high time that Black people did something about the literature on the subject of Black families. We would like to think that objective researchers could be relied upon, but as implied in the anecdote, we cannot and should not depend on others to tell our stories. Traditionally, the Black family as an institution has not been adequately or objectively investigated. Daphney Buzzard says that they always talk about us, about what isn't there, rather than what's there; all negatives; deficit models.

An important study, however, by the National Urban League's research department, was undertaken because of the increasingly apparent need for more scientifically thorough and unbiased research into the realities in Black family life. Robert Hill, author of the final report entitled, *The Strength of Black Families*,

stated that most scholars agree there is a need to strengthen Black families. Then a first order priority should be the identification of presently existing strengths, resources, and potentials. Systematic examination of the strengths of Black families should facilitate the development of national policies and programs which enhance and use these assets to their fullest potential.

Based on statistical data gathered from the United States Census Bureau, the Department of Labor, and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, some of the same sources which Moynihan and other critics had used, Robert Hill documents five vital strengths which have served Black families in their struggle to cope in American society. They are, *one*, strong kinship bonds. *Two*, adaptability of family role. *Three*, religious orientation. *Four*, strong work orientation, and *finally*, high achievement orientation.

My assignment is to lift up for examination the role of women in Black families. Suffice it to say that although Hill found these strengths in Black families, these findings were not generally embraced. All of his critics were not white. However, his work and the work of others have made us question the pronouncements about us by outsiders, has generated dialogue, and further research. Much more is needed.

Where does the Black woman fit in the dynamic of the family? Other than child rearing, other than child bearing, what is is expected of her? What has been her role? It would be more accurate to say her roles, just as it would be more useful to talk about Black families as opposed to the Black family. For the Black woman has been forced to enact many roles, to play many parts. In the foreword to Ruth Seeboard's, *World Survey of Women*, Liv Ullman quotes Seeboard, who says, "There are 2-1/2 billion women in the world, speaking nearly three thousand languages, and living in countries where the average annual income ranges from under $200 to $30,000 per capita. Women's sense of inequality is shared world-wide and has triggered a movement for change, which is now emerging everywhere. It differs from earlier drives for equality, in being world-wide and focusing on broad issues."

Some of us, such as Jean Young and others, have just returned from the U.N. World Conference of Women in Kenya, where these issues were addressed. As Seeboard suggests, the changes achieved in women's status, since World War II, have been extremely uneven and modest, whether in the economy, education, health, or government. There is no major field of activity and no country in which women have attained equality with men. Traditionally, then, the lot of women has been difficult.

Speaking of Black Americans, generally, W.E.B. DuBois observed, that given the peculiar circumstances of our introduction into American society, we were forced to live in a majority and a minority culture. Thus of his perception of the duality of the two-ness of American Blacks he wrote, "It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at oneself through the eyes of others. Of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amusement, contempt, and pity. One ever feels, one's two-ness, as an American, a Black. Two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings, two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder. In this merging, one wishes neither of the older selves to be lost". He was later to see however, that this infernal warring in the souls of Black folks was even more complicated for Black women, for they are double yoked by race and sex. He saw the lot of all women as hard. But he saw the plight of Black women as shamefully abused, exploited, manipulated, unappreciated, and unrewarded. "About all women," he wrote, "to be beautiful, to be petted, to bear children, such has been women's theoretical destiny. And if by chance they have been ugly, hurt, and barren, that has been forgotten with steadied silence. In partial compensation for this narrowed destiny, the white world has lavished it's politeness on it's womanhood, its chivalry and bows, its uncoverings and courtesies. For Black women of America, however, this gauze has been withheld without semblance of apology. They have been trodden under the foot of man." After saying that he went on to dedicate his book to *Black Women, Dark Waters*, saying, "This, then, a little thing to their memory and inspiration."

American culture has done such an effective propaganda job on the issue that too many Black men are willing to accept this denegrating picture of Black women, and even worse, some women do, too. Our jokes are replete with references to Black women as fat, out-of-shape, Black, ugly, picky-headed, castrating, undesirable Sapphires, who do not know how to please men. Whites has described us as sensual, prolific, and of easy virtue. Black men have defined us as too independent, evil, stubborn, domineering, and too conservative in our sexual behavior.

In the final analysis, all of the ills of Black folks have been heaped at the door of Black women. No credit has been given to those heroic Black slave women, who managed to maintain strong kinship bonds, husbands, and children, with nieces, and nephews, and grandchildren, and adopted children. We invented the adoption process, we just didn't call it that. Whether legally married, or married by African custom, those women did this even when forcefully separated from husband and children, because legal

marriages were often not allowed, or where allowed were not honored. Where her own children became the property of others, could be sold apart, yet this same strong Black woman could find the compassion to care for and even to breast-feed her slavemaster's children.

The heroic Black woman, who learned to run interference for her man and for her sons, in order to spare them from the hangmen's noose, from jail, and from the need to escape in the dark of night. The heroic Black woman when more recent has had to leave home before daylight, in order to go across town to take care of the children of strangers, hoping that her own children would be safe in their extended family or would successfully fend for themselves.

The work of servants is not appreciated. There has been no cause-effect relationship which would require that white people love those comforting, caring, nurturing, Black women whom they call mammy, not mama, not mother. Their natural mothers were too busy with the whole psychology of master-servant relationships. With their lady bountiful volunteerism, and too preoccupied with their mates' real or imagined infidelities to empathize with the Black housemaids; to wonder if the maid's children were healthy, cared for, and properly supervised. None of this sacrificial behavior, on our part, made them love us or suggest that we might bring our own small children to the big house and give them all attention.

Unattended wrongs have been allowed to worsen. We could supply a whole litany. Black women have always worked as partners to their husbands, not parasites. But they have not learned to feel appreciated. They have heard some of their men say, "I ain't got no use for no woman that ain't got a good job." While out of her willingness to wear that same shabby dress, and of making do, she was crying silently, "try a little tenderness". When her man, embarassed by his inability to manifest his manhood in socially, dictated, and approved ways, became verbally and/or physically abusive or abandoned her and her children, altogether, a majority of these women still managed to hang in, to hang on, and to do a good job.

The stories of Black female-dominance are all lies. When men are present, they do indeed, serve as heads of Black households. Or in the liberally oriented family, as equal partners to their mates. When a Black woman is the only adult in the household, who is supposed to be in charge? Certainly, not her minor son. The Black matriarchy is a myth. Which suggests that domineering Black women chase their men away, and are left to rear underachieving male children who are without positive role models. Yet the research literature suggests the very opposite in significant numbers. Researchers have found that eighty percent of the doctorate degrees held by Blacks, are held by Black men. Even in the Social Sciences, which more often admit women, seventy-five percent of the doctorates are held by Black men. Black and White researchers have found that absence of the father does not depress achievement in Black male children as it does in White male children. Fatherless white boys show low self-esteem, low sex scores, and low achievement orientation. The opposite is true for Black boys. Somehow Black woman, without present fathers for their sons, or husbands for themselves, manage to rear achieving sons with high self concepts, and sexual identity.

Can we attribute this, then to the strength of Black women? Yes, according to Black researchers. But White researchers were so dumbfounded when they found this to be true that they could not bring themselves to credit this with any strength of Black women or the strength of the Black extended family, which continues to maintain positive role models for Black boys. So, when the White researchers found the exact same evidence that the Black researchers had found, they attributed this to the fact that, as they said, "Since Black men have such a low social esteem, their absence or presence is insignificant." Yet no one questions White failure. Or blames it on the White, wife-mother. It is simply ignored, because everyone suspects that only defectives fail.

As has been suggested the myths of a Black matriarchy is a cruel hoax. The issue of Black liberation is thus placed improperly in the unwilling hands of Black women. It adds insult to Black liberation. The reality of the Black female is a society where she is exploited and should not be accused of robbing Black men of their manhood. If there is, indeed, a tendency for agencies to hire a Black woman over a Black man in affirmative action programs, which can in this way, get two for one, then the problem must be resolved at the level of social policy and not at the expense of Black women's guilt and rejection. Black women work for the same reasons that everybody works, who is not enormously wealthy, and that is for overriding economic reasons. White women will tell you, with ERA and what they are calling women's liberation, that they want jobs to fulfill themselves. The divorce rate and the illegitimacy rate has leveled off in the Black community. It has not disappeared. But is skyrocketing in the white community. And those women are working for the same reasons that Black women work. One of the differences is, however, that they are more likely to remarry and to do it more quickly. But that is not a final solution. One of the things that we know about men, is that when they remarry, they marry women who are significantly younger than the previous wife. This complicates the picture because then we get into what the

social scientists are calling the blended family: my children, your children, our children. There is not enough money to go around, and somebody's children get the short end of the stick.

Moreover, the literature suggests that this is another of those myths designed to divide and conquer, to turn Black men and women against each other. Black women are not the Black man's enemy. It is the White man's differential system of injustice that is our common enemy. The truth is that Black women are lowest down on the economic ladder. Black female-headed households have lowest median income of any family configuration. Families headed by women, of whatever color, are overrepresented among the poor. But families headed by single Black women are the poorest families in the nation. In 1980 the median income of such families was $7,425 for Black women, while for White female-headed families, it was $11,905. The picture has become progressively worse.

Some Black women despair when they realize the shortage of available, acceptable Black men for marriage. Women outnumber men across the board, color, race, notwithstanding. But the sex ratio is worse for Black women than it is for other women. When Black men succeed, in whatever field, they lose their color and racial assignment. Black men are lost to us by premature death due to high-risk jobs, poor housing, poor medical care, poor nutrition, homicide, incarceration, stress-induced mental disorders, substance abuse, unfortunately the rising incidence of homosexuality, and unfortunately, success. For some Black women, marriage ceases to be a viable reality unless they are willing to align their lot with undesirables; unless they are willing to break up marriages; unless they are willing to wait around for a marriage to self-destruct; unless they are willing to share men in illicit relationships, or other re-cycled used men as we do aluminum and glass. Yet I do not wish to paint Black women as all saints, and Black men as all sinners.

The family is the first institution to impact on the learning of children and mothers of the first educators, the first teachers. When I hear women complaining about their treatment at the hands of Black men, I am tempted to ask "Have we looked at ourselves, do we value ourselves, do we respect ourselves, do we love ourselves? If we do not value, and respect and love ourselves, how can we expect others to do so?" Are we willing to settle for anything in order to have a man? Women must learn to look to themselves. A man should not be the focus of the hub of our lives. He should be a complement to our existence, which only adds dimension. If we cannot be happy without a man, chances are we cannot be happy with one. Remember, that if you are searching for one, North American Black men are not the only Black men in the world, and they are not the only men.

Women must stop perpetuating error and fulfilling negative prophecies by rearing sons who learn, not only from society, and the poor examples of negative male role models, but unfortunately, who too often learn from their mothers as well, not to respect women who are not their mothers or their sisters. What, indeed, are we teaching our sons when we give them tacit approval to abandon their wives, how do we sound when we say, "you may have many wives, son, but you'll never have but one mother?" Are we saying that it's alright for our sons to abandon other women? If something is wrong with the way Black men treat Black women, we must remember, that it is Black women who rear Black boys. So let us examine our child rearing as well as the sins of the rest of society, which are many.

I'd hope that Nat King Cole had a Black woman in mind when he sang, "My Sweet Lorraine", but I know that Lucille is B.B's guitar, and not his wife. And Duke Ellington's classic suggestion that, when no one is nigh, sophisticated Black ladies, cry. I know, for I have seen the staggering numbers of beautiful, talented, elegantly coiffed and groomed, successful young Black urban, professional females, achievers, who are manless. Who do not understand why they own or are buying the condos in which they live. They drive prestige foreign and domestic cars. They have beautiful bank accounts, stocks, bonds, investments, annuities, brokers and agents, but they ask, "where are the men?" Even their male counterparts seem to be intimidated by them.

It seems, then, that our work is cut out for us. Those of us who are brown, black girls. I love you for your brownness and the round darkness of you. I love you for the breaking sadness in your voice, in the shadows where your eyelids rest. Something of old, forgotten queens. Lux in the lifeness of your walk, is something of the shackled. Sobs and the rhythm of your talk. Old, little brown girl, born for sorrows note. Keep all you have of queenliness, forgetting that you once were slaves. And let your full lips, laugh at fate.

But, no, we must not laugh at fate. We must fashion our fates. We must learn to rear sons who grow up to be responsible teenagers, and responsive, caring, fair-minded men who will not make babies before they are able to be fathers. Daughters who value themselves, and are smart enough to know that children should not have children, because such babies are at risk for low birth rate, premature deliveries, undeveloped organs which predispose them to serious health and behavior problems, if not premature death. Daugh-

ters who will not have their education interrupted, and the burdens of the support of extra children put upon their parents as opposed to the boy's parents. Sons and daughters who will want to stay in school to develop their abilities, and to make a contribution to the uplifting of our people.

We must stop allowing messages to be sent to our children that focus on the misuse of their body and their mind. I'm talking about the media; talking about Wall Street. Our blue jeans that emphasize every contour of the body; the twentieth century unisex girdle. Do civilized people really support themselves, as they do on the soaps and as the violent movies suggest? If white people behave as they do on the soaps, and all those other programs that my students tell me about, then I'm glad I'm not white. We must learn that diversity is not to be equated with inferiority or deviance. We do not have to be carbon copies of Whites to be equal to or better than. We must deemphasize learning all the wrong things for our well-being and emphasize teaching other groups those strategies that have worked for us and for all people of goodwill. We, the old poor, have much to teach the old rich, and the new poor about survival; about decency, in order that we may all soar to new heights of humanity.

As we know all the institutions of society impact on our well-being, the family, economics, government, religion. We must become more political, more disciplined, more prudent, better educated. We must also restore the influence of our churches in a greater commitment to spiritual, moral, and ethical values. And make all our institutions work together for human betterment. It was once said that the only institutions in the communities that belonged to Black people, were the church and the family. But the more affluent we become, the more we abandon families and churches.

But we know that black women have always been more involved in every aspect of the work of the church except pastoring. Some of us now are beginning to invade those ranks. I hope it is not out of dissatisfaction, or disillusionment with what men have done to religion. If so, I can only remind you who reared the preachers, we must return to our spiritual commitment and we must also take the whole family with us to find their place, their well-springs and their renewals. We must also return to that sense of community that we once had as Black people, where you would rather have your parents see you misbehave, than Miss Lula down the street. A sense of community in which the children on the block are all our children, not just our own issue. The sense of community that tells us that the old lady down the block is everybody's grandmother. The sense of community that tells us, no child is safe, let alone our own.

You have to remember that Patty Hearst was not reared to join the Symbionese Liberation Army. She was reared in wealth. She went to the finest schools. She wore the best clothes. She was expected to make a brilliant debut and to marry well. Did she? Somebody should have been concerned about those other children who inducted Patty into the Symbionese Liberation Army.

And you must remember that Charles Manson called all those girls from all those upper-middle-class, educated, and affluent homes, members of his family. Charles Manson was an abused, White child, who had been pushed from pillar to post, who had never known love; had never known nurturing, because nobody realized that he was also their child.

When we return, then, to the sense of the community and the spirituality which we once embraced, and to the business of making the institution of society accountable, we will have better families, more efficient, well working cohesive families, and happier women. Especially Black women.

Who will cherish the Black woman? Who will thank her? Who will honor her? Mari Evans reminds us:

I am a Black Woman
The music of my songs, some arpeggio of tears
is written in a minor key, but I can be heard humming
in the night.
I am a Black Woman, tall as a cypress
Strong beyond all definition
Still defying place and time and circumstances.
Assailed, impervious, indestructible,
Look on me and be renewed.

Thank you.

The Black Family

by Arthur Thomas, Ph.D., President, Central State University

We're talking about the family and the family has many dimensions. I was puzzled about this speech. I called my mother and said, "Mama, I have to give a speech and I've spoken in Cleveland before and maybe I should change it a little. I read three or four new books a week, so I could give a new speech everytime I speak." Mama said, "Are they still talking about each other, son?" I said, "Yes, ma'm." Mama said, "Are they still disrespecting each other, son?" I said, "Yes, ma'm." Mama said, " Are they still having babies before they get married?" I said, "Yes, ma'm." Mama said, "Are they still disrespecting Black women and abusing Black children?" I said, "Yes, ma'm." Mama said, "Are they still running by the library instead of running in it?" I said, "Yes, ma'm." Mama said, "Well, you give the same speech and don't you change that speech until they change their behavior." I said, "Yes, ma'm."

The reason we have problems with the Black family is confused social workers, confused Black teachers, confused Black lawyers, confused Black doctors, confused Black college presidents. Some who would try to deny access and opportunity to young people when they know that their only chance is through education. Most of them have not paid their student loans. If some of them would pay their student loans, Central State would have 3500 students. They can't get in because these people do not pay their student loans.

I did not learn my most important lessons at school. I learned one of my most important lessons, walking with my mother to the New Central Baptist Church. I was only five years old and I saw a Black man who stood six-feet in height and he had rags wrapped around his feet, during the month of December. I did not understand it then but I understand now, the pain and anger, frustration and the fear in that man,s eyes. I said, "Mama, look at that old man." My mother said, "Had it not been for racism. had it not been for oppression, that tall, broken, Black man could have been the chairman of the board at some corporation, could have been the president of the United States." She said, "Your obligation, your responsibility, whenever you see someone suffering, whenever you see someone that is in need, whenever you see someone that is confused, is to help them. Because that could be you, were it not for the grace of God."

I learned another very important lesson from the Reverend Havershaw. He did not have a Ph.D of philosophy, he only graduated from the eighth grade. But, he had a Ph.D in sensitivity, in creativity, in time and love. He's had a Ph.D in trust, and in respect. When the teachers told me how dumb I was at the junior high school, Rev. Havershaw told me how smart I was at the New Central Baptist Church. When I could not get my math or English together at school, Rev. Havershaw let me get it together at the New Central Baptist Church. When I was only nine, he gave me some self-esteem, put me on the usher board and let me be in charge of the center aisle. When I was fourteen, I could not count at school, I could not get my sentence structure together at school. But Rev. Havershaw let me count the money in the center aisle and I got it all right, everytime. He, also, let me ask five hundred people for the offering.

As we talk about the Black family, some of us do not want to deal with our history. We want to forget about racism. It still exists. We want to talk about lazy, Black people. I understand other people saying it, but I don't understand us saying it. This great move on our families existed ever since our enslavement. You must be reminded of that if by chance a family got on the boat together, they were separated during the middle passage. And if by chance they got to these shores together, they were separated.

You must understand these stereotypes about our family are still confronting us today. Brothers think they are supposed to make a different baby everyday, because they have been programmed to believe that since slavery. If you don't have any power, any money,

or respect, and you still have to maintain your manhood, what is there to do? Instead of degrading them and playing like the problem is not rooted in racism, we try to pray it out. We have to deal with the root. We have to deal with the cause. We have to explain to youngsters that during slavery we were forced to make babies, so other people could make money. We have to explain to them that that is not the way to prove your manhood in 1985.

We have to teach the Black male child to respect the Black woman. We have to teach the Black male child that there was a time in our history when Black women gave their bodies to slave traders to keep Black babies and Black men from being thrown into the Atlantic ocean. We have to teach every Black male child in this nation to respect every Black woman, just like he would want someone to respect his mother, his grandmother, and his sister. We have to make it dishonorable to curse a Black woman. Dishonorable to abuse a Black woman in any way.

We have to teach our children that there is nothing that they can not do if they make up their minds to do it. Knowledge is power. A person can take your life, your car, your clothing, any worldly possession that you have, but they can never take from you what you have in your head. Knowledge is power. If we exercise just one-half of our brain power, we could master the encyclopedia from cover to cover. We could master forty different languages. We could master the university requirements for twelve different subjects at the same time. If we used just one-half of our brain power. We do not realize how brilliant we are. All of us only function at fifteen per cent of our capacity. That means that everybody can be eighty-five per cent better in anything that you want to be better.

We can get into the habit of doing anything over a ninety day period if we get into the habit of holding our heads high and saying to ourselves that we are the most magnificent creatures on the face of this earth. There is absolutely, positively nothing that we cannot do if we make up our minds to do it.

We do that for ninety days, we will do it for the rest of our lives. If we get in the habit of respecting each other and we do that for ninety days, we will do that for the rest of our lives. If we are in the habit of putting our money in the church for ninety days, we will do that for the rest of our lives.

We have to recognize our potential. Let me give you an example. A student from Cleveland came by my office, he had just taken a final examination. The examination was in Community Health. On the essay exam, the teacher asked how important was community health in your community? He wrote on his paper, it is so important I can not discuss it at this time. I said, "Son, you have potential. I am going to give you another chance." We have to get our youngsters into the library. We need a national move to get our youngsters into the library. If they can not read, make them go anyway. Just have them sit there and look at the books. When I was in the eighth grade a teacher told me that I was bad, dumb that I was no good, I would never be any good, and I would end up in jail like the rest of my bum friends. I made up my mind on that day to make a liar our of him. I made a liar out of him by going to the library. I started reading everything I could get my hands on. When I got my bachelors degree from Central State University, where I am now the president, I sent him a copy.

The same teacher told my best friend the same time thing, that he was bad, dumb, that he was no good, that he would never be any good and he believed him. He did not go to school the next day. Then he started stealing, he committed murder and may be in jail for the rest of his life because he believed the bad things that somebody said about him. Get our youngsters into the library.

We must deal with this pregnancy issue straightforward. Everybody wants to pretend a million youngsters are not getting pregnant before their time. When a baby has a baby, who is going to take care of the baby? Some psychiatrists say that some young ladies have babies because they want to have something of their own to love and cherish. It's not all the brothers' fault.

We have to teach our youngsters to stop being afraid of these other languages. We have to stop calling them foreign languages and start calling them "other" languages. Our youngsters are not going to be confined to the continental boundaries of the United States of America. They are going to be citizens of the world. They have to get ready for that. If we learn Spanish, we can bring about a better understanding between us and our Hispanic brothers and sisters. We can not talk about coalitions, when we do not respect Hispanic culture, heritage, and language. Not only must our children learn, but we must learn as well.

Our Black males have to be taught that you do not prove your manhood by fighting. A doctor proves he is a man by saving lives.

We have to teach our children our history. One reason why our children feel badly about themselves is because they do not appreciate our history. We also have to teach our white brothers and sisters our history. They need to know that there were highly complex civilizations in Africa, before Christopher Columbus found some land that somebody else was already on. Five thousand Black men and women fought in the revolutionary war. A brother crossed the Delaware with George Washington. They should know that Phyllis Wheatley, at the age of thirteen, wrote magnificent poetry. They need to know about Richard Allen getting tired of getting on his knees in back of some racist

church in Philadelphia and getting up and founding his own African Methodist Episcopal Church. They need to know about Prince Hall and his battle to develop the Prince Hall Masons. They need to know about Harriet Tubman. She led three hundred of us to freedom.

They need to know about Frederick Douglass who said, "Men may not get all they pay for in this life but they most certainly must pay for all they get." They need to know about Sojuorner Truth saying, "I hold this constitution in my hand, something must be wrong with this constitution because I look and look into this constitution, but I do not see any rights for me." They need to know about Booker T. Some of us like to call Booker T . . . names, he left a school. What would you leave if you died right now? Need to know about W.E.B. Dubois, and A. Philip Randolph, and Mary McLeod Bethune. They need to know about Fannie Lou Hamer who said, "I'm just sick and tired of being sick and tired."

They need to know about Rosa Parks. A lady whose character was so impeccable that she launched a movement that we all benefit from now. They need to know about Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., saying, " If a man has not found something that he is willing to die for, then he is not fit to live. If we keep on waiting, we'll end up in a deep freeze."

When we say Malcolm X, we start running, get nervous, and start looking around to see who else is looking.

We need to teach our children, that we have always had white friends. One of the reason that Black children feel that they do not have a chance is because they think that all white people are against them. That is not true. Some of us had to suffer through that during the sixties. We have always had and have white friends. I am not talking about George Washington and Abraham Lincoln. I am talking about Thad Stevens and Charles Sumner, two white men who dedicated their lives before, during and after the civil war to bring economic justice and reciprocity. I am talking Viola Liuzzo, a white woman who died, from Detroit, in Alabama, trying to secure for us the right to vote. Now, when it rains, we will not vote.

We need to know about Hubert Humphrey, a man who dedicated his life to bringing about better relations for everybody. We need to know about John Kennedy and Robert Kennedy. They died because they wanted this to be the right kind of country for everybody. There's always hope. Lyndon Baines Johnson voted against us during his high congressional career. But when the right time came to take a stand, he stood up like a man, and got that civil rights act of 1964 through congress.

We must never forget Mary Turner. They talk about her in Lerone Bennett's *Before the Mayflower*. You can find her in the papers of Walter White. Mary Turner lived in Valdosta Georgia in 1918. Mary Turner was nine months pregnant. She was walking down the street, some klansmen got angry because she would not step to the side, they hanged her from the tree. While Mary Turner was hanging from that tree, another one stepped forward and cut her stomach open and then when her baby fell to the ground, someone stepped forward and squashed that baby's skull into the ground. Then another one stepped forward and burned that lady's body to a crisp. Why did she die? She died for youngsters to become doctors and lawyers. She died for us to be more sensitive to the needs of all people, not just Black folks, but to Hispanics, Native Americans, and poor white people, and everybody else.

When you start feeling sorry for yourself, you think about Mary Turner. I understand why we have all these bad feelings, but we have to stop hating ourselves. That is one of the biggest problems that we as a people still have. We hate ourselves. Look in the dictionary, you see 130 synonyms for the word black and 75% of them have negative connotations. A child can not even sit down to a meal without being exposed to racism, because the angel food cake is white, and the devil's food cake is black.

We do not want to deal with anything black, except the church. We get a cold, we call the Black doctor. But if we need some major surgery, we call the white doctor. If we get a ticket, we call the N.A.A.C.P. lawyers, and other Black lawyers. But if we have a chance to settle on a million dollar law suit, we go downtown. And if you put your money in the Black banks, one of these days, your children will not have to beg for loans, your businessmen won't have to beg for loans, your ministers can develop housing projects, and still maintain their dignity.

You do not want to send your children to a Black school. Send them anywhere you want. Some of them need to go to Harvard, Yale and other places, and some of them need to go to Black schools. But send them anywhere you want. We will pick them up second quarter, like we always do. Seventy-five percent of the Black Ph.D's graduated form Black schools. Eighty-five per cent of the Black M.Ds graduated from Black schools. Eighty per cent of the Black armed forces officers graduated from Black schools. Eighty per cent of the Black lawyers graduated from Black schools. Seventy-five per cent of the Black federal judges graduated from Black schools. Half of the Black elected officials graduated from Black schools. Otis Moss graduated from a Black school. Jesse Jackson graduated from a Black school. Andrew Young graduated from a Black school. Leontyne Price graduated from a Black school. Barbara Jordan graduated from a Black school. Benjamin Hooks graduated from a Black

school. Leon Sullivan graduated from a Black school. Charles Wesley graduated from a Black school, etc., etc., etc.

It is just not scholarship, it is leadership. The civil rights movement of the sixties, came out in North Carolina A&T, not the University of North Carolina. The Supreme Court decision of 1954 came out of Howard, not Harvard.

We have work to do. We have to get our children ready for communication and oceanography and genetic research and urban space planning and atomic fusion and chemistry and physics and business management and computer science and economics and statistics and geology and biology and the law. We are going to live in a different kind of world, a world where they will be able to retard age, control obesity, cook with sunlight, use garbage for power, alter time, build buildings from fiber, make food from oil. A world where if you lose an arm or a leg, they will simply be able to grow you another one. A world where there will be cities on the floor of the ocean. A world you will be able to get on a train in New York and be in Los Angeles, one hour and thirty-seven minutes later.

How do we survive in a world like that? By believing in God. By loving, trusting and respecting each other. By working harder than everyone else. Dear Lord, as we go through this battle of life, we ask that you fulfill that which is fair. Strength that is equal to all the strife and the courage to do and to dare. If we should win, let it be by this code our courage and honor held high. If we should lose, let us stand by the road and cheer as the winner goes by. When things go wrong, as they sometimes will, when the road we're trudging seems all uphill, when cares are pressing us down a bit, rest if you must, but don't ever quit because life is clear, with its many, many twists and turns as each and every man, woman and child sometimes learns. Success is failure, turned inside out. The silver lining of the cloud of doubt. You never know how close you are to success, you may be near to it when you think you are far away from it, don't ever quit. Suppose Frederick Douglass had quit. Suppose Fannie Lou Hamer had quit. Suppose Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. had quit. Just suppose Harriet Tubman had quit. Don't ever give up. If we could survive slavery, if we could survive Jim Crow, if we could survive unemployment, then we most certainly can survive this detrimental atmosphere that pervades our families now.

We will survive. We will survive because we are survivors. We will survive, because we serve a mighty God that may not come when you want him, but he is always on time. We will survive. We'll walk through the valley of the shadow of death, but we'll fear no evil. We will survive.

Thank you.

Part II
Papers Presented

I. Religion and the Black Family

Spirituality: An Essential Component of Black Family Development

by Cindy Beard Tappan, RNC, B.S.N., M.A., Clinical Nurse Instructor, Veterans Administration Medical Center

Purpose

The purpose of this presentation is to review briefly the phenomenon spirituality as an essential component in the development of the Black family. Secondly, acknowledge that spirituality has historically provided Black people with hope and faith necessary for social and spiritual survival.

The areas of content to be addressed are: *one*, the existence of family from a Biblical, theological and sociological perspective; *secondly*, review spirituality, relative to major beliefs held, myths and reality, and their influence on the Black family; and *close* with assessing the strengths and weaknesses of the Black family today and identify strategies which will strengthen Black family development for the future.

Objective of the Presentation

The expected outcome of the presentation is that the conferees will be able to:

1. Discuss the Biblical, theological and sociological existence of the Family.
2. Describe spirituality and its influence on the Black family.
3. Assess and identify strategies for strengthening Black family development.

Introduction

Every person is born into a family, whether perceived as the traditional family unit or as a non traditional unit. The accepted constellation of a family is a unit of three persons — the father, the mother and the child, In some writings the husband and wife make up a family unit while other writings may include the single parent with one or more children as a unit.

Our knowledge of the historical forms of the human family is extremely limited and even the few accounts of the family that did appear in antiquity are likely to represent the aristocratic classes and not the masses of people or the Black family, for sure, from a Black perspective.

Families from all parts of the world, including the islands of the seven seas, have come to live in the United States for hundreds of years. They brought with them their own culture, histories and life-styles. In contrast, Black people were forced to come to America, bound in slavery and denied the privilege of retaining a history and a culture. The life-style for Blacks was less than that provided for animals. Even though Blacks were stripped of their culture, they were not stripped of their spirituality. It was one of the few heritages the Black man refused to give up. Consequently, spirituality became the force that increased their faith and expanded their hopes to endure more than two hundred years of the most inhuman experiences ever witnessed by mankind. For the Black man was not only strong in spirit but strong in will.

Because I believe that the family represents the most influential context of a person's life, it seems urgent that the issues critical to survival be examined for action. Walter Toman a sociologist, stated that, "The family exerts its influence more regularly and more exclusively and earlier in a person's life than do any other life contexts" (Toman, 1969, p.5)

The concept of a holistic approach, in the context of personhood, identifies four dimensions of needs. They are spiritual, physical, sociological and psychological. These needs were commonly addressed by Jesus during his ministry on earth through his teaching and his actions as recorded in the Gospels of Matthew Mark, Luke and John. It is the spiritual dimension of need and its influence on Black family development that I will address in this presentation.

Biblical Prespective of the Black Family

"On the sixth day God created man, male and female in his image and gave them power over all things that live upon the earth" (Genesis 1: 26-27). Man did not evolve, man was created in God's image and crowned with glory and honor, yet subjected to God the creator. God is infinite and man is finite. Nevertheless, the image and likeness of man to God, rendered man a personal, rational and moral being. Man also possesses the elements of personality similar to those of the divine person. These divine spiritual qualities are love, righteousness, justice and humanity. Man's moral nature provided him with the capacity to think, feel and act. So man has two natures, divine and human.

The scriptures viewed man as having a specific and special relationship to God. Man is also viewed by the scriptures as being distinctly different from other animals, a triunity being with a body, soul, and spirit. The creation of man and woman cited in Genesis is the first reference to family: God blessed the union between man and woman and instructed them to be fruitful and remain faithful to each other. It is in this same way we in the present day are commanded to do when we receive the sacrament of Holy Matrimony.

It is not my intent to review the story of Adam and Eve, but to highlight man and life in the context of God's creation and man's relationship to God, his Creator. Secondly, to show man's place in the order of creation which has significant implications for the way the Black man is to be perceived and valued as a person and in his social relationships with other persons. The value of a man is located in the divine origin of his personality or personhood, not in the color of his skin or the texture of his hair. Our Black forefathers understood and affirmed this truth by their assertion that every individual is a person of worth and is endowed by God the Father with respect, worth and dignity. It is this truth that Black people are denied because of racism and the one truth that all Christian people must stand up and fight for, to insure its reality for all peoples.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. conceptualized God and man as co-creative partners in the created order (Smith, 1981, p.47). Man and woman are equal partners. They together are in charge of developing the world's resources and keeping it in good order. Yes, the Black family too, has this responsibility and will be held accountable to God the Father in the same way other persons are held accountable.

Theological Perspective of Black Families

From a theological perspective, great honor and high value have been given to the union of family. Man and woman were given the privilege and responsibility to run the world and with this privilege comes accountablity — accountable to God and society. Additionally, people are unique and they are capable of great things. Unlike any other creatures, they have choices, free choices between good and evil. People can respond to the commands of God and do great things or the demands of society, and become self-destructive.

William Neil, a Bible scholar, stated that "freedom of choices are opened to all people and they may select from the field of experiences what they will" (Neil, 1975, p. 18). He also emphasized that freedom has its dangers. It seems that one such danger is man's intellectual and spiritual limitations when unrecognized. We are limited by our humanness and we need to be cognizant of that fact. Another such danger is the freedom to set one's own standards of right and wrong disregarding God's standards. An example is the disparity of justice between races and between classes in our social systems. How then, are choices made? Most people would agree that there are a variety of ways and no specific way is better than another. However, what most people do agree on is that the consequence of one's choice is a significant factor.

Understanding God's purpose or the master plan of man's being, may be helpful in making life choices. There are voluminous accounts in the literature about God's purpose for man in this life. God has made us for Himself and that is good and perfect. Therefore, some clarity is given to choice selection as to who we are and whose we are. If man is God's children, then the Black man is God's children too. Therefore it is this knowledge and attitude that people in general and Black people in particular must conceptualize and internalize as a philosphy of life.

Sociological Perspective of the Black Family

The family is a social institution. There are several connotations and concepts for the word family. Time permits me to describe only a few. One concept of family is household, body of persons who live in one house. Another concept of family is kindred, those persons who descended from a common progenitor such as a tribe, a clan or a race. A third concept of family is lineage, a succession of persons,for example, honorable lineage, blood, position, etc.

According to the literature, family may be viewed from a biological and a sociological perspective. This view is in keeping with the current practice of our society. Sociological family relationships have become a way of life for the "mere sake" of economical survival for some people as well as a way of meeting the psychosocial needs.

In this presentation, the word family is operationalized to mean linkage by the sacrament of Holy Matrimony and linkage by birth. This point of view is in keeping with the Christian view of family. However, this veiw is not to be implied that there is no Christian bases for other types of communal living.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. viewed marriage as a divine institution established by God and sanctioned by the state for the benefit of the human family (Smith, 1981, p. 48). For Christians, marriage signifies that two adults, male and female, have entered into a highly moral relationship; one in which the other persons' interest takes precedence over one's own interest in the interest of the other person. The matrix for this type of behavior is love, unselfish love, an attribute that will be discussed later in the presentation. According to Smith, Dr. King believed that this kind of love gives the marriage stability and permanence (Smith, 1981, p. 48).

The marital relationship is fundamentally one of equality between the husband and wife. Neither partner is superior to the other in any spiritual or moral sense. However, for the benefit of the family, partners may choose roles or areas of responsibility.

Spirituality and the Black Family

What is spirituality? Spirituality is the phenomenon that keeps man in touch with himself and with God. Spirituality enables man to live out the Good News. It is not enough to know the Word. We must learn how to live the Word. Knowing what to do is one behavior. Doing what we know to do is another behavior. God wants us to know Him, love Him and serve Him in this world, not sometime or most of the time, but completely all of the time. The paradim for this kind of love and commitment to God is the love and commitment our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ illustrated by his birth, death, resurrection and ascension.

Jesus Christ gave his life in love. Because of this act of service, we have life. Our salvation is already secured. We are children of God. Subsequently, children of God can do no less than behave like children of God. Before this intimate relationship man was under the just condemnation of the judge of the earth. But now through Jesus Christ, who bore our condemnation and to whom by faith we have become united, we have been justified. Justification means that we have been brought into acceptance with God and pronounced righteous. Man's judge is no longer the judge of the earth but our Father, the Creator. I am reminded of the scripture from the Gospel of John which reads, "See what love the Father has given us, that we should be called children of God" (1 John 3:1). And so we are, not because we feel that we are but because God said that we are. This may be the one relationship where feelings are not 100% accurate. Therefore, it should not be relied solely upon to test our spirituality. For there are levels and degrees of spirituality. However, as we grow in Christ our feelings of spirituality become more pronounced and accurate. As recorded by Peter, "We grow in the spirit like new born babies longing for the pure spiritual milk that by it we may grow up to salvation" (1 Peter 2:3). This relationship with God is a great privilege. It also requires from us great responsibilities. One responsibility is self-growth. Spirituality is the nourishment for this growth. The nutrients are prayer, faith and action. The second responsibility for us is to help others to grow. We help others grow through services of nurturing and caring. Nurturing and caring have traditionally been the philosophy of Black families as reflected in their interactions within the race as well as interactions with other races.

In the literature we find that spirituality is the quality of the total person. Spirituality is to the soul as personality is to the mind. The root word of spirituality is spirit. Also, the word soul is synonymous with spirit and they are often used interchangeably. For example, the *Webster's New World Dictionary* defines the spirit or the soul as "the thinking, motivating and feeling part of man, often as distinguished from the body, mind and intelligence" (Garalnik 1970, p. 1373). The soul or spirit is an entity which is regarded as being the immortal or spiritual part of the person, and though having no physical or material reality, it is credited with the functions of willing and consciousness of thought.

The *American Peoples Encyclopedia* recorded that, "soul is a term usually meaning the human spirit as the source of intelligence and personality. It was not until the time of Plato that the distinction between the soul (or mind) and matter together with the immaterial nature of the soul was clearly established" (Chouinard, 1960, p. 17916). The presocratic philosophers had no real concept of an immaterial principle. For example, Heraclitus conceived the soul as composed of the element fire. It is important that we do not confuse spirituality with the Holy Spirit. For the Bible clearly states that the Holy Spirit is the third person in the Trinity, God the Father, Jesus Christ the Son and the Holy Spirit. The soul then, is the place in humans in which the Holy Spirit dwells. Therefore spirituality is the manifestation of the Holy Spirit. More specifically, as we allow the Holy Spirit to take charge of our thinking, our feelings and our actions, these behaviours, thoughts, feelings and actions will take on Christ-like qualities. The Christ-like qualities of love, righteousness, justice and humility are what I call elements of spirituality. What implications does this have for the Black family? First of all Black Families are God's children too, and secondly, Black people possess all the attributes that all other persons possess. Historically Black people were grounded in spirituality as evidenced by their response to racism, oppression and injustice. Spirituality is an essential component for Black family development. It inspired and expanded their hopes in times of hopelessness. Courage and faith increased in Black people in times of helplessness. Through spirituality, the Black Family was protected against despairing. They were able to mobilize their limited resources and moved to action for freedom, justice, dignity and respect; they were coping.

From 1755 to 1940, 185 years, the major Black religious leaders from Nathaniel Paul and Richard Allen to Marcus Garvey shared the same theological orientation about God, man, eschatology, liberation and evil. From a Christian perspective they interpreted the theological motifs underlying the Christian faith in light of an

organismic conception of reality. They perceived spiritual liberation as a reality that is inextricably bound-up with social phenomena (Young, 1977, p. 13). For certain, spiritual liberation is not separate from physical liberation. Furthermore, these theologians viewed spirituality in terms of its function which means that social, economic and political dimensions of reality are interdependent and cannot be compartmentalized. This point of view is no different from the views of our present day theologians and leaders, Desmond Tutu, Martin Luther King, Jr., Joseph Lowery, Barbara Jordan, Shirley Chisolm, Louis Stokes, Jessie Jackson and Otis Moss to name a few. Black leaders down through history have been concerned with the eradication of social evils that exploit the environment and minimize the Black man's freedom of self-expression and self determination.

There are many myths and distortions about the Black family and spirituality. One example of distortion is the statement made by Gunnar Myrdal in reference to black religion. He said, "Black's frustrations were sublimated into emotionalism and Black people's hopes were fixed on the after world" (Young, 1977, p. 14). The idea that Black people were only conceived about getting to heaven is misleading. We know that Black people were sending messages to God and men. The reality historically for Blacks was, and has always been, focused on the transformation of the social, political and economic institutional structures. Another example of a myth launched against the Black family is the lack of intellectual capacity to achieve. This story we all know too well. We can recite the various incidents in our sleep. Nevertheless, let us not be distracted by myths and distortions of reality. More importantly, the time we have left must be used constructively. Therefore, let us assess the strengths and weaknesses of the Black family ourselves. We know better than anyone else from where we have come and where we want to go.

Assessment of Black Family Strengths and Weaknesses

Assessment is an ongoing process of collecting and interpreting data for action and evaluation. Assessment is essential. It provides new information, an awareness of unmet needs. As a result, appropriate interventions can be taken to correct those needs. Strengths and weaknesses illustrated in *Table I* are by no means inclusive and should be interpreted within the context of this presentation. The significance of the assessment was to formulate a forum for identifying strategies for Black Family Development. It is important that we recognize and understand that weaknesses are not a liability, stigma or defeat. Identified weaknesses like strengths, are viewed as opportunities for growth. Consequently growth brings about change.

Table I
Assessment of
Black Family Strengths and Weaknesses

Strengths	Weaknesses
1. Black Churches	Insufficient ecumenical networking for the good of the community.
2. Schools of higher education	Deficient in numbers of preparatory schools.
3. Intellectual achievement	Derelict in mobilizing the resources for mentors and role models.
4. Resources in the expanded family	Viewed and utilized as a liability.
5. Role expectations	Disparity in proportion of male and female preparation.
6. Stride made toward social change	Deficient in economic and political reforms
7. Rich culture	Rejected for other cultures
8. Spiritual heritage	Immorality practiced
9. Political leaders	Distrust of their leadership
10. Community of faith	Lack of commitment to be faithful

Strategies for Black Family Development

What is our challenge? Where do we begin? When do we start? Let me begin by answering the last question first. NOW. Now is the time for Black families to take action on its behalf. We cannot wait any longer. The time has come for us to strategize and set priorities for action. Where do we start? There is no doubt in my mind where we must start. The Scriptures clearly tell us to seek first the Kingdom of God here on earth, and all other things we seek will be taken care of. The Scriptures also answer the first question, What can we do? All things are possible and with God on our side, how could we fail?

The factors illustrated in *Table I — Strengths and Weaknesses,* are indicators for prioritizing strategies for Black family development. Based on these indicators, I identified five strategies I think are essential to Black family development and critical to the survival of Afro-Americans. The strategies are: *First,* Identity. How do Black people view themselves in terms of self-esteem and self-worth? How do we feel about our physical appearance? Do we project an inferior or superior self image? In addition to picking up Jesse Jackson's chant, "I am somebody," we must be creative in "becoming somebody." Black people's potentials, individually and collectively, must be actualized to the highest level of achievement. *Second,* the Scripture. I am convinced that the scriptures are the primary source for Christian doctrine, moral and ethical behavior. The word of God as recorded in the Bible reveals God's plan for man. Through the Scriptures, faith is born and nourished, our understanding of life is increased, our hopes are expanded and our wis-

dom is deepened. Therefore, Christian education, like general education, is imperative for Black children and adults. The *third* strategy is experience. Our children need rich and positive formal and informal experiences. Rich and positive experiences can be provided in the homes through home training. Socialization seems to be the most important variable in home training. Planned socialization will provide our children with events and interactions that require critical thinking. Our children are our million dollar investment. Let us be serious and creative in ways in which we invest in them. The *fourth* strategy is reason. Reasoning is critical analysis. We must take into account scientific and empirical knowledge for problem-solving. Objective rational analysis helps to enhance clarity and verifiability. We must become more skillful in using a logical and systematic approach to problem-solving. The *fifth* and final strategy is tradition. We have a rich heritage. We must work hard to retrieve what was lost and very hard to retain what we have achieved. Tradition is essential in facilitating self-understanding. It preserves our history, influences our beliefs and it helps in developing our attitudes about ourselves.

Table II
Strategies for Black Family Development

Strategies	Policy/Goal
1. Create Identity	Self actualization of potentials will be achieved through the development of self-esteem and self-worth for self-determination.
2. Practice Scripture	Moral and ethical standards will be based upon scriptural interpretation for individual and collective interactions.
3. Provide Experience	Rich and positive experiences for growth and development will be provided through a mechanism, home-training and in the community by selected role models and events.
4. Employ Reason	Critical thinking will be the process by which enlightened decision-making and problem-solving is used.
5. Preserve; Create Tradition	Sacred and secular customs and beliefs will be created, observed and passed on from generation to generation to facilitate self-understanding and self-expression.

Summary

We must seriously and prayerfully examine our values in light of our goals relative to our thinking, our feelings and our actions. How do we clarify our values and what priority are they given? To do this, we need a force greater than ourselves. Therefore I highly recommend the force of spirituality. Apply the principles of Christian living taught by Christ in your life. Spirituality, when well developed and practiced, will enable us to love ourselves and love our neighbors. However, love must be viewed in the proper context of erotic love, philia love and agape love. Our children need to know the difference between these types of love. We cannot sit by and watch our children be destroyed by erotic love activities. We know that teenage pregnancy, drug abuse, suicide and diseases through sexual contact are at the highest epidemic proportion ever. Our children and young adults are so confused by the entertainment of music, television programs and other forms and types of pornography, they cannot separate fantasy from reality. Spirituality has been our strength and hope in times of crises and will be our strength and hope in the future. Finally, we must work hard and stand tall, for total and complete freedom is our goal in all aspects of social, political, educational, and economical areas. The elements of spirituality, love, righteousness, justice and humility combined with bold strategies, identity, Scripture, experience, reason and tradition provide guidelines and foundations for Black family development. When integrated into one's lifestyle, this foundation will strengthen the Black family because they are precursors to social, political, and economic changes. Then the Black family will be able to experience the degree of freedom that enriches the quality of life that brings contentment to the spirit.

"Even though the fig trees have no fruit and no grapes grow on the vines,
Even though the olive crop fails and the fields produce no grain,
Even though the sheep all die and the cattle stalls are empty
I will still be joyful and glad, because the Lord is my Savior.
The Sovereign Lord gives me strength.
He makes me sure-footed as a deer and
Keeps me safe on the mountains."
Habakkuk 3:17-19

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The Portrayal of the Black Family on Religious and Secular Television Programming: A Comparative Analysis

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Abstract

The basic organizing unit in American society and a common element in many television programs is the family. For almost all children, their first experiences with families are with their own and with those of their playmates. Yet, at a very early age, children begin to vicariously experience and observe the families that are available on television, What does a young black viewer begin to extract from observing the families on television — their composition and their interactions with each other? Does the portrayal of the black family on commercial television differ from that on religious programming, which prides itself in its presentation of traditional values and socially acceptable and redeemable modes of behavior?

The results of an extensive content analysis reveal that there are very distinct differences in the presentation of the structure and interactions in the black family on secular and religious programming and in comparison with the portrayal of the white family. The primary differences concern the portrayal of children, women and the elderly. Implications for broadcasters, viewers and those directly involved in religious work are formulated and discussed.

The Portrayal of the Black Family on Religious and Secular Television Programming: A Comparative Analysis

Over a decade ago, *New York Times* columnist Russell Baker wrote an essay entitled "The State of the Family Message." It began:

"The family being all assembled in the parlor for the annual occasion, Great Mortgaged Father entered the chamber, took his place at the hearth and spoke as follows:

'Madam Wife, Minister Grandfather, members of the younger generation, distinguished cats and tropical fish:

'Occasionally there comes a time when profound and far-reaching event command a break with tradition in the style of the State of the Family Address. This is such a time.

'I say this not only because 1970 marks the beginning of a decade in which the entire family may well die of its own environment unless visionary measures are taken. I say it because the most casual glance about the house as well as hard experience argue persuasively that both our programs and our habits need to be reformed.

'Quiet air, clean bathrooms, uncluttered hallways, neatly packed garbage cans, those should once again be the birthright of every member of the family. Accordingly, the program I propose today is the most comprehensive design for improving family environment that I have ever put before you.'"

The essay goes on to call for an end to household disturbances that have become the norm for the average family. These include clusters of dog hair on clothes, hotdogs in the glove compartment, mashed bananas and peanut butter on the television screen, and aging grease behind the stove.

Interesting though this essay might be, there are obviously more complicated issues than a congested environment facing the family. Changing social patterns prompted by industrialization, urbanization, increased mobility, inflationary economics, mass media, and new work habits and work ethics have deeply affected the size, structure and function of the American family. Traditional roles and values that previously undergirded family life continue to be in turmoil.

According to 1984 Census Bureau statistics, illegitimacy has more than doubled in the past three decades and the rate of divorce continues to increase. Single parents headed 25.7 percent of the families with children under 18 years old in the United States, with experts predicting that one of every three families will be headed by a single parent in 1990. In addition, statistics provided by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights suggest that a staggering 54 percent of single-parent families are living below the poverty line: more than half of black families fall into poverty after marital breakup, compared with a quarter of white families (see *Newsweek*, 1985).

Living in a family has never been easy; one need only read the Bible to discover that marital deceit, sibling rivalry, incest, abusive husbands and parents, and family violence are not inventions of the late-twentieth century. The family has always been an institution under stress (Anderson, 1982), and the church has often been a vehicle to bring the family together. In its promotion of traditional family roles and

values, the church has sought to preserve the family unit and teach our youth about the strength in family unity. Lessons from the Bible are lessons in family cohesion and parsimony.

It has been suggested, however, that the church's impact on the family has been usurped by a more contemporary and powerful institution. Over thirty years ago, social scientist Harold Lasswell (1948) noted that mass media have replaced yesterday's cathedrals and parish churches as teachers of the young. This was due to the media's incomparable potential to reflect our social heritage, preserve it, and dynamically transmit it from one generation to the next. Lasswell's observation is even more atune today, given the astronomical prevalence and popularity of television. Today, 2-5 year old children watch an average of 28 hours of television per week: 6-11 year olds watch nearly 26 hours per week (Nielsen, 1985). More time is spent in front of the television set than any other activity, except sleeping. This includes church attendance and family interaction.

Although their first experience with families are with their own and with those of their playmates, preschool children begin to vicariously experience and observe the families presented on television. The information children receive about the importance, structure and operation of families may determine the kind and quality of family life they select in the future (Buerkel-Rothfuss, Greenberg & Neuendorf, 1978). Furthermore, information received about other families may affect a child's interactions within his/her own family grouping. From watching TV families, vicarious learning of family roles, attitudes and behaviors is expected for, in many instances, television is a more readily available and attractive socializing agent than the family itself.

In recent years, the church has come to not only recognize the impact of commercial television as an educator of youth, but has employed the medium for its own purpose. The quantity of religious television programming has escalated a hundred-fold over the past decade and, today, there is a veritable plethora of nationally syndicated religious programming. Recent estimates (Gerbner et al., 1984) suggest that approximately 14-20 million.Americans watch at least one religious program each week — programming which prides itself in promoting traditional values and socially acceptable and redeemable modes of behavior (Horsfield, 1984).

Over 212 broadcast stations across the country carry large amounts of religious fare offered by as many as five religious networks via satellite and/or cable television systems. Furthermore, in order to better compete with its secular counterparts, religious TV is comprised of just about every programming format, including talk shows (e.g., 700 Club), game shows (e.g., Bible Bowl), children's shows (e.g., Davey & Goliath), soap operas (e.g., Another Life), news-magazine shows (e.g., Reel to Real), music/variety shows (e.g., PTL Club), and sermons (e.g., Hour of Power) (Abelman, 1985).

What does the young viewer begin to extract from observing the families on television, their composition, roles, and their interactions with each other? More importantly, does the portrayal of family on religious television programming differ significantly from that of secular fare in terms of (1) the composition of the family unit (e.g., nuclear, extended, broken), (2) the interaction patterns and dynamics of various family members, and (3) the representation of black and white families? Does religious television programming compliment or contradict the portrayal of the black family on the popular and abundant supply of secular programming? This final question is particularly relevant considering that viewers of religious fare tend to be non-white and primarily black (Gerbner et al, 1984) and the creators of this fare tend to be predominantly white (Hadden & Swann, 1981).

This paper will address these questions by presenting the results of an extensive and systematic content analysis of nationally distributed religious programming (see footnote 1). Findings from this investigation will be compared with the existing literature on the portrayal of family on primetime television programming. Implications for viewers of religious fare, producers of religious television, and those directly involved in religious work will be formulated and discussed.

Family Structure

Secular Fare. Several analyses of commercial television programming, which examine the nature of family structure in general (Greenberg, Hines, Buerkel-Rothfuss & Atkin, 1980; Buerkel-Rothfuss, Greenberg, Atkin & Neuendorf, 1982) and the nature of black family interaction and structure in particular (Greenberg & Neuendorf, 1980), have been conducted. According to these investigations, slightly more than half of the programs carried by the three major commercial networks contained a "family" — that is, two people portrayed as blood or marital kin. Overall, however, most TV characters were portrayed as not having a relative in the program; for each TV character with one or more relatives, there were five without relatives at all.

Of the families that were portrayed on commercial television, the majority of white families were nuclear (two parents with one or more children), followed by families consisting of one parent plus children, and husbands and wives without children. Most of the single parent white families were headed by widows and widowers: divorce was not found with-any frequency (see Footnote 2). On the other hand, the dominant

black family type consisted of a single parent plus children; the result of a broken marriage. These families were typically headed by the mother, which reflects actual population statistics (see *Newsweek*, 1985). Nuclear black families were rarely depicted (see footnote 3).

Similarly, members of extended families were rarely depicted, with the elderly being the most grossly underrepresented of extended family members. The elderly represent less than 3 percent of all secular TV characters, although they constitute over 13 percent of the American population (Aronoff, 1974: Greenberg, Korzenny & Atkin, 1979). Interestingly, however, the number of children in television families were overrepresentative, particularly for black families. In white families, slightly less than 40 percent of the family members were the children: in black families, slightly more than half of the family members were children.

Religious Fare. Clearly, there is no better representation of family in programming sponsored or produced by religious organizations than in programming distributed by the three commercial TV networks. To begin with, the marital status of most adults in religious programs is rarely (30%) explicitly stated: by comparison, this information was codable for two-thirds of the men and nine-tenths of the women in primetime drama (Gerbner et. al., 1984). In addition, the marital status of white adults is more frequently identified (43.5%) than the marital status of black adults (12.1%) in religious fare.

In general, this lack of depiction of marital status is peculiar, considering that the institution of marriage comprises nearly 10 percent of all the social topics (e.g., discussion or reference to human society, the interaction of the individual and the group, or the welfare of human beings as members of society) discussed across all religious programming (Abelman & Neuendorf, 1985b). The only exception to this observation concerns those individuals appearing in preaching/sermon programs. Here, well over one-third of the adults appearing on these programs were identifiably married with many regularly appearing with their spouse or children. This is especially so for televangelists, including Jim Bakker, Rex Humbard, Kenneth Copeland, Jack Van Impe, Jimmy Swaggart, Robert Schuller, and Oral Roberts. However, these televangelists and the overwhelming majority of other adults appearing on their nationally syndicated program (82%) are white (Abelman & Neuendorf, 1984).

Of those individuals whose marital status was obtainable, proportionately more people on religious programs than those in primetime drama were married (31.1 percent of the men and 35.4 percent of the women on religious programs compared to 17 percent of the men and 25 percent of the women) and fewer of those on religious programs (11%) than on primetime programs (44%) were explicitly said to be not married (Gerbner et al., 1984). Consistent with secular programming, there is very little reference to divorce in religious fare and less than 1 percent of all characters were identified as divorced. Of the identifiably unmarried people in these programs, 17 percent were widowed. Interestingly, however, there are no portrayals of divorced or widowed black adults in religious programming, which is highly inconsistent with its secular counterpart. Consequently, for both black and white families, the nuclear structure is the rule.

As with secular programming, the elderly were highly underrepresented, comprising only 5 percent of all characters in religious fare — all of whom were white. Similarly, children amounted to only 11 percent of all characters with speaking roles; the number of children belonging to each family was rarely (27%) explicitly stated. Of those parents who did discuss their families, however, there appears to be approximately two children per family (Abelman & Neuendorf, 1984) with no difference between black and white families.

In summary, then, it appears as if family and family life is presented as important for proportionately more secular TV characters than participants on religious programs. In religious fare, there is more talk about domestic and family issues then the actual presentation of family life or the explicit reference to marital status. When the family is portrayed, it is primarily limited to a nuclear structure with very few relatives playing major roles. Although secular programming overemphasizes the proportion of single-parent black families, religious television fails to depict their existence at all.

Despite this poor representation of family, it is still likely that an important class of information about family life exists for young black viewers. Observations of family interaction patterns — who interacts with whom, with what frequency, for what reasons, and to what end — offer information regarding:

- the power associated with particular family roles;
- security concerning family stability;
- expectations concerning parent and sibling behavior;
- sources of particular types of information within the family unit; and
- feelings of satisfaction with present family interaction patterns in comparison to those observed.

It is important, therefore, to isolate and identify family interaction on television and note differences in portrayal on secular and religious programming.

Family Interaction

Secular Fare. Within the family context, for both white and black families, there is significantly more interaction between children and adults than among children or among adults. In particular, 40 percent of all of the interactions in black families were between either a mother or father and a son, in comparison with 23 percent of the interactions in white families. This is interesting considering that mother/daughter interactions constitute only 14% (white) and 7% (black) of all family member exchanges and father/daughter interactions account for 10% of both white and black family interactions. Typically, interaction between husband and wife in white and black families constituted 31% and 26% of all family interactions, respectively. In addition, brothers and sisters interacted with opposite sex siblings at a higher rate (14% black; 12% white) than siblings of the same sex (4% black; 11% white). In both black and white families, the sons were the most likely initiator of sibling interaction.

The overwhelming majority of the above interactions were what Greenberg, Hines, Buerkel-Rothfuss and Atkin (1980) refer to as "going towards" interactions — verbal behavior which serves to initiate, maintain and/or build a family relationship. *Offering information* was the most often observed form of "going towards" interaction in secular television family interactions, accounting for family interactions, accounting for 89% of all white family exchanges and 83% of all black family exchanges. When fathers and husbands in both white and black families engaged in the offering of information, it was most likely in the form of directing the behavior of others: mothers were most likely to offer instructions on what to do and how to do it.

White wives (non-mothers) rarely engaged in the offering of information, though they were often the recipients of their husbands' direction. In white TV families, wife-initiated interactions with their husband most likely took the form of *seeking support* (e.g., moral, emotional, physical). Clearly, in white family husband/wife and father/mother interactions, the male is the most dominent of the dyads. In further support of this observation, Greenberg, Hines, Buerkel-Rothfuss and Atkin (1980) suggested that, when conflict occurred between husbands and wives, husbands were more likely to oppose their wives than the reverse; white TV mothers engaged in the least disagreeing or protesting than any family member.

A very different pattern emerges for the portrayal of interactions between members of a black household. The most distinctive difference in content of family interactions was that black family members were more often portrayed in interpersonal conflict. The black wife is the single largest performer of family conflict interactions — fully one-third of her interactions were in opposition to, or attacking of, her husband. Thus, the black wife is "set up as a most active antagonist against her husband, who himself...is less conflictual than his white counterpart" (Greenberg & Neuendorf, 1980, p. 180).

Regarding the children in secular programming, pre-teens were more likely to engage in the offering of information than any other age group for both black and white families. In addition, black and white teenagers initiated more opposing conflictual interactions than any other child grouping, with the greater proportion of conflict occurring between brothers. When conflict did occur between children and parents, it was more frequent from child to mother than from mother to child, for both sexes of children. Consequently, children are most often portrayed as precocious or troublesome in their interactions with others. This is particulary so for black children. Among acts initiated by black brothers, 25 percent are in the direction of "going against" and among black sisters, that figure is 28 percent. Both of these proportions are significantly larger than their white counterparts.

Religious Fare. There are literally no different patterns of interaction among members of white families and black families on religious programming. Nonetheless, a different pattern of family interaction emerges on religious programming than that portrayed on secular fare. As can be seen in Table 1, 87.4% of all verbal interactions were between adults; approximately one-third (33.2%) of all exchanges occurred solely between mature (40-64 years old) adults and 10.9% occurred solely between young (20-39 years old) adults. Unlike its secular counterpart, where the majority of interaction occurred between children and adults, interaction between the younger and older generations on religious programming, in both black and white families, was extremely limited.

Furthermore, there appears to be a hierarchy of interaction that dictates who initiates conversation with whom. For example, children never initiated verbal exchanges with adolescents and adolescents never initiated verbal interaction with young adults. There was also absolutely no verbal interaction between children and the elderly or between adolescents and the elderly. In addition, interaction between the elderly and young adults constituted only 0.4% of all interaction; interaction between the elderly and mature adults constituted only 2.6% of all interaction (1.4% initiated by mature adults, 1.2% initiated by the elderly). By-and-large, the traditional view that children should be "seen and not heard" is apparently in practice in religious fare. Unfortunately, this is also so for the elderly. Based on these interaction patterns, neither children nor the elderly play an important role in the conduct or functioning of the family. There also appears to be very little contact between children and the aged.

Table 1. Interaction Patterns of Individuals By Selected Demographic Characteristics

	Frequency	Percentage
Social Age		
Child to:		
Child	198	2.4%
Adolescent	—	—
Young Adult	181	2.2
Mature Adult	427	5.1
Elderly	—	—
Adolescent to:		
Child	2	.0.1
Adolescent	46	0.6
Young Adult	—	—
Mature Adult	89	1.1
Elderly	—	—
Young Adult to:		
Child	235	2.8
Adolescent	1	0.1
Young Adult	918	10.9
Mature Adult	1214	14.4
Elderly	20	0.2
Mature Adult to:		
Child	473	5.6
Adolescent	124	1.5
Young Adult	1181	14.0
Mature Adult	2787	33.2
Elderly	114	1.4
Elderly to:		
Child	—	—
Adolescent	—	—
Young Adult	20	0.2
Mature Adult	97	1.2
Elderly	280	3.3
Gender		
Male to Male	3992	46.2%
Male to Female	2149	24.9
Female to Male	2148	24.8
Female to Female	360	4.2

Interactions between men and women are also imbalanced on religious programming. For example, for both black and white families, males overwhelmingly deminated verbal interaction, with male-initiated exchanges accounting for 71% of all interaction: male-only interaction occurred as often as male-female interaction (46.2% and 49.7%, respectively). Female-to-female interaction accounted for only 4.2% of all verbal exchanges. It should be noted, however, that in dramatic programming — which frequently depicts family situations — there is a relatively equal distribution of interactions initiated by males/husbands and females/wives. However, this is the type of religious fare least likely to depict black portrayals (Abelman & Neuendorf, 1984).

Consistent with secular programming, the most frequently observed direction of interaction was "going toward," with *offering information* as the most often observed mode of interaction. Unlike secular programming, however, black and white children are not typically the ones to be presenting information or opinion; the adults spend over one-third of their interactions with others doing so (see Table 2). In dramatic programming and in programs that feature a televangelist, the exchange of information is particularly one-sided. In these programs (see Table 3), 37% and 35% of husband-to-wife interactions, respectively, entail "offering information" while only 19% and 16% of all wife-to-husband interactions, respectively, were of that mode. A relatively equal proportion of wife-to-husband interactions entail the "seeking of information" from their husbands, suggesting that the husbands in dramatic and evangelical programs were better sources of information than the wives.

Table 2. Direction and Mode of Interactions by Age of Initiators

	Social Age*				
	Child	Adolescent	Young Adult	Mature Adult	Elderly
Goes Against					
Ignoring	—%	—%	0.4%	—%	—%
Attacking	0.2	0.7	2.9	1.9	2.8
Opposing	2.1	3.7	2.1	2.4	3.5
Goes Away From					
Evading	—	—	—	—	—
Farewell	0.1	0.2	0.5	0.5	0.6
Goes Toward					
Offer data	16.8	29.0	33.9	34.6	34.6
Offer opinion	2.7	8.9	15.8	14.9	13.2
Seek data	6.8	4.9	7.5	6.9	5.1
Seek opinion	0.6	0.2	2.0	1.8	2.3
Contributing	6.5	4.8	3.9	5.9	4.2
Joking	2.2	1.1	1.4	1.5	0.9
Supporting	0.4	11.1	3.8	4.9	5.4
Show concern	2.9	—	8.3	0.8	2.3
Seek support/ (behavior)	0.3	0.4	1.1	0.1	0.8
Seek support/ (nonbehavior)	0.1	1.6	0.5	0.4	1.6
Direct (behav.)	8.7	6.1	4.7	3.4	4.9
Direct (non.)	—	1.1	4.0	4.0	—
Accept support	0.3	1.9	2.4	3.6	1.8
Accept direct.	48.6	17.1	8.7	7.7	14.3
Greeting	0.3	—	3.7	4.5	1.4

*Percentages should be read down each columnn

By looking at Table 2, several age-related differences in the mode and direction of verbal interaction also become apparent. First, *accepting direction from others* was a prevalent mode of verbal interaction for the average child (48.6% of all interactions), adolescent (17.1% of all interactions) and elderly individual (14.3% of all interactions) with no differences existing between black and white family members. In addition, although

conflict-producing/conflict-maintaining behaviors (e.g., opposing, attacking) are fairly uncommon in religious television programming, they made up 6.9% of the interaction of the average elderly individual.

Clearly, one observing family interaction in secular programming would derive a very different impression of family than one observing interactants in religious fare. Children are much more a part of family activities in secular programming, often serving as the primary agents and initiators of family interaction and vehicles of conflict. Open avenues of communication between parent and child appear to be more available in the variety of commercial network programming than in programming produced and distributed by the predominently Christian organizations that dominate religious television. However, religious television does not depict the parent-child conflict so prevalent in commercial television's portrayal of the black family.

In religious fare, the direction and mode of interaction is very formal and traditional. Parents, particularly the father, dominate information exchange among family members and frequently serve to direct the behavior of others. There is more interaction between the men in the house, for both black and white families, than between the women or between men and women. Mothers and wives are quite submissive, typically seeking moral, emotional and physical support from the men. Children are often seen but rarely heard and do not typically speak unless spoken to. When interacting with others, children are most often seen accepting direction. There is little conflict between children on religious programming, perhaps because there is little interaction between children. When interaction does occur, a seniority system is apparent whereby younger children rarely initiate interactions with their elders. The result is a very structured, downward flow of information and interaction...with one exception. Elderly members of white families play a very minor role in religious fare, and black elders are nearly nonexistent.

Table 3. Direction and Mode of Marital Interactions by Program Type

	Marital Role			
	Dramatic Program		Evangelistic Program	
	Husband to Wife	Wife to Husband	Husband to Wife	Wife to Husband
Goes Against				
Ignoring	—%	—%	—%	—%
Attacking	3.0	4.0	—	—
Opposing	2.0	4.0	1.0	2.0
Goes Away From				
Evading	—	—	1.0	—
Farewell	—	—	—	—
Goes Toward				
Offer data	37.0	19.0	35.0	16.0
Offer opinion	17.0	18.0	17.0	18.0
Seek data	10.0	19.0	5.0	13.0
Seek opinion	5.0	10.0	3.0	5.0
Contributing	2.0	1.0	8.0	15.0
Joking	5.0	3.0	5.0	8.0
Supporting	3.0	7.0	3.0	2.0
Show concern	—	3.0	—	—
Seek support/ (behavior)	1.0	1.0	—	—
Seek support/ (nonbehavior)	3.0	1.0	—	—
Direct (behav.)	7.0	5.0	8.0	3.0
Direct (non.)	4.0	1.0	4.0	4.0
Accept Support	2.0	—	1.0	1.0
Accept direct.	1.0	2.0	11.0	11.0
Greeting	—	—	1.0	1.0

*Percentages should be read down each column

Conclusions

This paper concerned itself with the potential learning of the role of communication in family systems, as presented on secular and religious television programming, of which there are several key implications. First, the relative absense of relatives outside of the traditional nuclear family is important for children's social learning about such roles. Very little information is provided about step-parents, cousins, aunts, uncles or grandparents. Given that children have limited direct experience with such individuals — an increasing phenomenon in the American family — there remains a void of available information. For example, neither religious nor secular programming provide information about how to behave toward older people and what to expect in return. More importantly, the apparent absense of these individuals demonstrates their lack of importance in family life.

In regards to religious fare in particular, the absense of the elderly could lead to questions about their importance in religious matters or their involvement with religion. The notion of "honoring thy father and thy mother" does not transfer to first generation parents in religious fare. The verbal interactions with the elderly that did exist present a rather dismal picture — the elderly were conflict-producing individuals who were the frequent targets of guidance from their youngers. This contradicts the values associated with old age in the living church, where elders are perceived as sources of great knowledge and wisdom, and the deserving recipients of much respect.

The findings in this investigation may serve as a guideline for producers of religious fare in the development and direction of future programming. As an alternative to commercial television, religious programming has the potential to generate more positive images of the American family and emphasize the importance of family in today's society. Based on this investigation, religious fare has not even kept pace with its secular counterpart in this regard. This is particularly so for the black family, whose members constitute only 6 percent of the total religious television population and are typically reduced to non-major roles.

This should be of particular concern to those who produce religious programming that has international distribution, including Third World countries. The cry of "cultural imperialism" has found its way into discussions of the media during the past 20 years — the resultant hue and cry of "media imperialism" expresses the concern that large, developed nations send too many media messages to less developed countries (Wells, 1974: Davis & Abelman, 1983). The question is always raised as to what types of images and cultural norms are being presented to Third World citizens. This research offers the unique opportunity to assess the content of religious fare available to the Third World, and to gauge what kinds of norms and pictures of the religious family are being conveyed cross-culturally. Is religious fare presenting an accurate or desired impression of family in general or the position and values of minority families in particular?

The research findings may also have substantial implications for those directly involved in religious work. The findings should take debate of whether the "electronic church" is doing justice or disserve to the messages being presented in local churches beyond rhetorical criticism. It is very likely that, in terms of the promotion of traditional values and a strong family structure, religious television programming may be contradictory or inadequate. Few black role models are available on a national level; only one of the fifteen most popular, syndicated televangelists is black (see Appendix B).

Finally, this review of secular and religious fare has many implications regarding the American viewer in accordance with social learning theories of imitation and identification (see Bandura, 1977). This approach views the structuring of behavior as a reflection of the existing social and physical world, where individuals are transfused with social mores and expectations about their behavior in a social context. Because of television's increasing pervasiveness, both in society and in the lives of individual viewers, the medium is gradually serving as a prominent source of social information. Consequently, information from television — including religious programming — may be complementing, replacing or counteracting family, school and church influence as models of behavior. The type and quantity of people and their interactions depicted in this programming may impact on viewers' perceptions of those people and the nature of their interactions. The result may take form in generations to come.

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Footnotes

1. A stratified random sample of 40 U.S. towns and cities was obtained, using Census information to constitute the sampling frame. The sample was stratified by size of the town or city: 10 towns with a population of less than 20,000 persons: 10 cities with a population of 20,000-100,000 persons: 10 cities with a population of 100,000-1,000,000 persons; and the ten most populated cities in the U.S. See Appendix A for a list of sample cities.

   A two-week period (June 11 to June 24, 1983) was selected and the issues of *TV Guide* serving those locations were obtained. An exhaustive analysis of these 80 issues of the magazine produced the totality of religious programming in the sample cities. Additionally, *Broadcasting* Yearbook was consulted to obtain information regarding any religious cable channels not listed in the magazine. 18,845 individual instances of religious TV programs were extracted, constituting 698 different programs. From this information, a list of the "Top 27" religious programs was obtained, of which three episodes were recorded and analyzed (intercoder reliability exceeded .85 on all categories). The names of these programs appears in Appendix B.

2. It should be noted, however, that Greenberg, Buerkel-Rothfuss, Neuendorf and Atkin (1980) indicate that the occurence of divorce on commercial television programming has increased each season since 1975: it has become equivalent to widowhood as a factor to account for single-parent families.

3. These analyses were conducted before the 1985 television season and the introduction of the Huxtable family on "The Cosby Show." However, as was noted by the show's headwriter John Markus (Abelman, in press), "The Cosby Show" isn't really about a black family: "I think what we are asking America to do is to look at a family without looking at the family as being black or white or middle class.... We leave the racial issues to the "Newhart' show."

APPENDIX A
List of Sample Cities

CONTENT ANALYSIS CITY SAMPLE

	CITY	POP.
GRP. 1: 10 Largest Cities	New York City, NY	7,072.000
	Chicago, IL	3,005,000
	Los Angeles, CA	2,947.000
	Philadelphia, PA	1,688,000
	Houston, TX	1,595,000
	Detroit, MI	1,203,000
	Dallas, TX	904,000
	San Diego, CA	876,000
	Phoenix, AZ	790,000
	Baltimore, MD	787,000
GRP. 2: 100,000-750,000	Tacoma, WA	159,000
	Fort Wayne, IN	172,000
	Lakewood, CO	133,000
	Oxnard, CA	108,000
	Youngstown, OH	115,000
	Columbia, SC	101,000
	Greensboro, NC	156,000
	Hialeah, FL	145,000
	Shreveport, LA	206,000
	Birmingham, AL	284,000
GRP. 3: 20,000-100,000	West New York, NJ	39,194
	Minot, ND	32,843
	Carlsbad, CA	35,490
	West Covina, CA	80,291
	Marrero, LA	36,548
	Great Falls, MONT	56,725
	Plymouth, MINN	31,615
	Orland Park, IL	23,045
	Waipahu, HA	29,139
	Miramar, FL	32,813
GRP. 4: 1,000-20,000	American Fork, UT	12,564
	Cedar Park, TX	3,474
	Clearwater, SC	3,967
	Ellensburg, WA	14,231
	Beggs, OK	1,428
	Fairdale, PA (Carmichaels mailing)	2,045
	Pearl River, NY	15,893
	Polk City, IO	1,658
	Cherokee, AL (may be 2—note population)	1,589
	West Dennis, MASS	2,023

APPENDIX B

List of Sample Programs	Population in Households	Median Age	Percent 65 and Older	Percent not Married	Percent Foreign Born	Percent High School Grads	Percent with some College	Per Capita Income	Percent Black	Percent Spanish-Speaking
Jimmy Swaggart	215,836	29.81	11	35	12	66	19	7,099.19	18	9
Jim Bakker	215,836	29.81	11	35	12	66	19	7,099.49	18	9
700 Club	215,836	29.81	11	32	12	66	19	7,099.49	18	9
Jerry Falwell	215,836	29.81	11	35	12	66	19	7,099.49	18	9
Robert Schuller	215,836	29.81	11	35	12	66	19	7,099.49	18	9
Oral Roberts	215,836	29.81	11	35	12	66	19	7,099.49	18	9
World Tomorrow with Herbert W. Armstrong	220,809	29.79	11	36	12	66	19	7,091.56	18	9
Rex Humbard	215,036	29.81	11	35	12	66	19	7,099.49	18	9
Kenneth Copeland	161,600	29.67	11	35	9	67	20	7,167.31	18	9
Day of Discovery	221,526	29.98	10	35	12	65	21	7,167.71	19	10
Jack Van Impe	249,506	30.24	11	36	12	66	20	7,099.83	19	9
Ernest Angley	282,683	30.22	11	37	16	62	18	6,962.48	20	12
Dr. D. James Kennedy	195,548	30.34	11	35	9	67	20	7,311.12	21	9
Praise the Lord	201,179	29.54	8	36	19	67	19	1,201.37	11	19
It Is Written	221,194	30.05	10	36	13	67	20	7,258.82	18	10
Herald of Truth	286,862	29.36	11	35	11	64	19	6,970.48	22	7
Christopher Closeup	276,577	30.09	10	35	11	64	19	7,027.42	19	12
James Robison	202,280	29.16	10	36	10	65	18	6,839.24	21	10
Ever Increasing Faith	338,982	29.90	11	37	11	64	19	7,054.90	22	14
This Is The Life	253,511	30.22	11	35	12	68	20	7,170.69	16	12
Insight	234,078	30.72	11	34	11	67	20	7,036.78	17	12
Davey and Goliath	333,405	30.87	11	34	15	64	19	7,247.21	19	11
Another Life	251,403	30.09	11	35	7	69	21	7,263.50	20	7
Pattern for Living	351,567	29.98	10	36	15	66	19	7,160.00	18	13
Faith for Today	291,934	32.32	12	36	18	63	18	6,998.53	15	18
The Lesson	227,031	30.15	11	35	11	66	20	7,058.35	21	14

II. The Black Family and Its Children

Social Skill Development of Black Children: The Family's Role

by Gwendolyn Cartledge, Ph.D., College of Education, Cleveland State University

Introduction

In recent years increasingly more attention has been given to social competence and means for teaching social skills in children and youth. Although the terms social competence and social skills have been used interchangeably, social competence tends to be a broader term relating to quality of performance, while social skills refer to specific responses emitted by the competent individual (Hops, 1953). Social competence and social skill have been defined variously; however, the emphasis for both has been on personal interactions. Eisenberg and Harris (1984), for example, point out that most definitions of social competence are conceptualized according to peer acceptance, friendship and the quality of social interaction. Along the same vein, Cartledge and Milburn (1980) define social skills as socially acceptable learned behaviors that enable the person to interact with others in ways that elicit positive responses and assist in avoiding negative responses from others.

Although the ability to get along with others is commonly valued, the importance of social skill development is magnified when considering the relationship of social skills to overall immediate and later life competence. There is some evidence that childhood deficiencies in social interaction are carried into adulthood. Phillips (1978) suggests that if needed social skills are not learned, "current problems will remain and later ones will be more likely to develop or become exacerbated. As and when social skills are learned, at whatever time in life, they are a basis for present adequacy and prevention of future inadequacy" (p. 141).

Family Influence

As the child grows, his social development will be determined by major socializing forces, i.e., family, church, school, and peers, the first and perhaps the most important being the family. The importance of the family can be seen in a study conducted by Looney and Lewis (1983). They compared two groups of adolescents, lower socioeconomic black and middle-to upper socioeconomic whites, on factors related to: (a) personal relationships, (b) ability to describe oneself in terms of needs, and motivations, (c) assertiveness (active vs. passive orientation), (d) educational achievements and aspirations, (e) extracurricular activities, (f) work, (g) future orientation, (h) general social relationships, (i) heterosexual relationships, (j) attitude toward parents, and (k) problems with authority. Subjects selected for this study were considered to have above average to superior adjustment and were academic achievers. They all came from intact families that received average ratings of 3.8 and 3.6 for white and black families respectively. This is on a scale from 1 to 10 where 1 indicates most competent and 10 severely dysfunctional. A somewhat surprising finding was that despite the considerable socioeconomic disparity between the black and white youths, the two groups were found to be more similar than different. The researchers attributed this finding to the strength of the subjects' respective families. Looney and Lewis concluded:

> Although from very different neighborhoods, levels of family income, and life opportunities, the adolescents in these two groups shared an important asset. They were from families determined by rigorous research methodology to be functioning at the more competent end of the continuum of family competence. A preliminary hypothesis that ethnic socioeconomic forces would cause these two groups of adolescents to be very dissimilar was incorrect. The similarities were, in fact, striking. This important research finding underscores the power of the family as the crucible of human development. (p. 72)

Despite its apparent power, the ability of the family to provide the guidance and direction for the development of appropriate social behaviors seems to be lessening. According to Stephens (in press), "The American family has been in a state of flux since World War II. With a highly mobile population, working mothers, single parents, and reconstituted families, the family unit as a stable and predictable social institution is now problematic." As with all problems in our society, the socioeconomic status of the Black family makes it even more vulnerable to the effects of adverse conditions. The implication, therefore, is that the Black family is losing even more ground in its ability to provide the critical socialization needed for successful survival in today's society.

Social Skill Needs of Black Children

Responsibility Behaviors

The most recent report from the Children's Defense Fund (1985) states that Black children are "sliding backwards." This is based on their findings that Black children are three times more likely than a White to be placed in a special education class, only one-third as likely to be admitted to a class for gifted children, more likely to fall behind a grade than are Whites, and have greater disciplinary problems.

What does this have to do with social skills? A series of correlational studies exist, establishing a relationship between social skills and school achievement (Cartledge & Milburn, 1978). Students with positive social behaviors (for example, those who seek out the teacher, initiate contacts about work assignments, answer or try to answer questions, smile at the teacher, and are more attentive during lessons), generally receive more positive teacher attention and have a higher rate of academic success. Other studies have shown that children with learning disorders are distinguished from their more capable, achieving peers by deficiencies in task-related behaviors (Cartledge, Stupay, Kaczala, in press). These are children who fail to attend, to persist on assignments, to complete assignments, to turn in homework, and so forth. Therefore, it appears that task-related social skills are not only operative for academic achievement and school success but may be a significant deficit area for many Black children.

Self Concept Behaviors

Self-related behaviors appear to be another critical area that needs to be addressed for Black children. Although the self-concept status of black children is an extensively debated issue (Hare, 1985), the replication (Fine & Bowers, 1984) of a classic study by Kenneth Clark (Clark & Clark, 1947) provides some basis for concern. In the early 40's Clark and Clark conducted a study where Black children were given a Black and White doll and asked a series of questions intended to assess racial preference. Black children more often chose the White doll, suggesting problems with self-identity. Similar studies in the 60's and 70's found Black children to prefer the Black doll; however, a more recent study by Fine and Bowers (1984) indicates a disruption of this trend, with Black children, particularly black boys, showing a preference again for the White doll. The researchers interpret these findings in terms of the current political and economic conditions which present a more pejorative climate for Blacks. They also suggest that these findings are consistent with other studies showing Black females with higher self-esteem scores and more academic success than Black males. Self-related behaviors, exemplified in self-identity and positive self-statements quite likely are the basis for overall social adjustment as well as academic and occupational success.

Aggressive Behaviors

Perhaps it is this ambivalence in self-identity that contributes most directly to aggression, a highly visible problem area for Black children and youth. Although aggressive behaviors are common to all individuals, particularly adolescent males, they appear to be expressed disproportionately by Black youngsters. Alvin Poussaint (1983) points out that the homicide rates of Blacks are 7 to 8 times those of Whites and that it is the leading cause of death among Black youth. Although Poussaint associates psychological impairment with this ultimate expression of aggression, there is no question that aggression is too often encouraged and touted as a survival skill in the Black community. Black children, for example, are often encouraged by their parents to respond to provocation with counter aggression. While the immediate results of such actions may be rewarding, the long term effects are potentially counterproductive, causing aggression to escalate and producing a continuing conflict cycle for the child with his/her peers and others. To illustrate, let's take the case of Tanya. Tanya is a pretty, bright 12-year-old who is very aggressive in her peer interactions. She states that she fights because the other kids pick on her and call her names, some of which is true, but there is good evidence that she is quite provocative, as well. In the past, this behavior was maintained both by the fact that her mother encouraged her to fight back when "picked-on" and by the fact that she had experienced considerable success in defeating her victims. The level of this aggression steadily increased until one day several children attacked her with bats and other weapons, resulting in extensive injuries to Tanya and requiring brief hospitalization. The logical extension of this cycle of aggression for Tanya would be to resort to carrying weapons in order to protect herself. The shortsighted advice from her mother was that she could avenge her assault by fighting the other children individually, not as a group. We will return to Tanya later when we discuss intervention.

Weissberg and others (1981) also found aggression to be problematic for Black children. In problem-solving sessions they found Black children to generate more aggressive solutions to problem situations and observed a corresponding increase in aggressive behaviors in school situations. An obvious implication of these occurrences is to minimize aggressive solutions by helping children to identify more adaptive alternatives to conflict situations.

Intervention

Having briefly stated the more salient social skill issues pertaining to Black children, the obvious next step is to outline options for intervention. Social skill intervention tends to fall within two broad categories, direct and indirect instruction. The methodology for direct instruction borrows heavily from behavioral psychology with an emphasis on social modeling and reinforcement techniques. Indirect procedures tend to focus on ways to structure the environment in order to increase adaptive and decrease maladaptive behaviors. Although the discussion that follows integrates these two approaches, the first section is more focused on direct interaction, while the second section addresses more generalized parental practices.

Direct Instruction

Social Modeling

The most pervasive means for teaching social skills is though modeling and role-playing. This is based on the fact that social behaviors are acquired naturally through observation. Empirical support is given to this assumption through studies conducted by Albert Bandura and his associates (1969), which showed a direct relationship between observing a model and the child's subsequent behavior. In one study nursery-school children observed either an aggressive model, passive model, or no model at all. They found that the children observing the aggressive or passive models imitated the behavior of their respective models to a degree statistically significant over the other two groups. This research not only suggests a means for teaching social behaviors, but also draws attention to the importance of parents/families monitoring the various models in the child's environment.

Media. A particularly influential and potentially harmful source of modeling are the media. According to Stephens (in press), "Popular media, particularly TV, are the single most powerful socializers in our present day society . . . Television is the most ubiquitous of all popular media." The number of violent and sexually inappropriate models presented through TV, films and videos are steadily increasing in our society. Television producers readily acknowledge this increase and the potential detrimental effects on viewers, but justify such shows by their financial benefits. The deleterious effects of TV viewing have been well documented (Sparks, 1985). Dominech (1984), for example, found a relationship between viewing violent TV programs and overt physical aggression among 10th and 11th grade youths. Black children appear to be even more vulnerable to the effects of the media. Gail Caution (1984) reports . . . "Black children view significantly more TV than Whites, and the low-income Black child may view an average of 6.85 hours of TV each day and 40,000 TV commercials each year" (p. 72). Children, particularly low-income Blacks, have difficulty distinguishing fantasy from reality. They are more likely to assume that the images presented in the media exemplify the way they are expected to behave. Parents need to monitor the television viewing of their children, limiting the amount of violent programming and substituting much of the TV watching with more positive activities such as reading, nonviolent games, sports, and so forth. When television viewing is permitted, parents need to watch TV with their children, pointing out examples of desirable behavior, negating undesirable ones, and helping their children to distinguish fact from fantasy.

Models in the Immediate Environment. Adults and peers in one's immediate environment provide another source for social modeling. Black children, particularly low SES Black males, are sorely disenfranchised for want of adequate models. According to an NBC documentary, "Where are the Black Men", nearly 50% of young Black men are "missing" due to social problems such as incarceration or homicide. Furthermore, in poor Black neighborhoods Black children are disproportionately exposed to behavior patterns that are in conflict with the larger society, e.g., theft and prostitution.

As a child develops, the peer group steadily gains in importance until it becomes the child's primary constituency. This peer group exercises considerable control and the child must learn how to deal with peer pressure. There are two obvious indications for intervention under these conditions. First, children need to be taught how to resist peer pressure. Formulating and role playing with the child "no" statements for various social situations would be useful for this purpose. This should be followed with praise or more substantial reinforcers for occasions when the child is observed to resist inappropriate peer requests.

The second means for intervention is to solicit adults and peers that may serve as more appropriate models for children. Community agencies such as Big Brothers or Big Sisters may be one avenue for adult models, and child centered organizations ranging from boy scouts to church groups may assure the likelihood of more wholesome peer interactions.

Parents as Models. Parents are powerful and influential persons in a child's life and, as such, serve as models for social behaviors. Often, parents model the very behaviors they wish to extinguish in their children. Parents who choose to discipline their children's aggression primarily through physical punishment, for instance, may be signalling to their children that power and control of others is achieved most effectively though physical force. The parents' behavior, therefore, may only teach the child to discriminate conditions for aggression, i.e., when (s)he is least likely to be caught and punished, rather than to eliminate this behavior

from the child's repertoire. In fact, the reverse may be the case in that the aggressive behavior is strengthened. It is recognized that corporal punishment is an established and validated practice in the Black family. And while some spoiling of the rod may have its place, its effects will be negligible or counterproductive if not accompanied by instructions and differential reinforcement.

Problem Solving

One means for providing instructions is by helping the child think of more constructive options for handling problem situations. According to George Spivack and Myrna Shure (1974), children who are good social problem solvers tend to be more socially adjusted. That is, socially skilled children are more likely to identify a variety of appropriate responses to any particular situation. In responding to teasing, for example, a skill deficit child may consistently react with the same inappropriate behaviors such as crying or fighting. The socially skilled child, on the other hand, may recognize that teasing may be effectively controlled through behaviors such as ignoring, walking away, making assertive statements, and so forth. Parents can be instrumental in helping their children think through a variety of viable options for specific interpersonal problems. Social problem solving involves identifying a problem, generating a variety of alternative behaviors, specifying consequences for each of these alternatives, determining a solution, and evaluating the solution according to its outcomes. In many cases parents will want to engage in role plays with their children, acting out appropriate ways to perform the behaviors. Spivack and Shure present evidence of innercity Black parents successfully using these procedures to facilitate the social adjustment of their children.

Reinforcement Techniques

Another useful set of procedures for developing behaviors are reinforcement techniques. Parents typically shape their children's social behavior, intentionally or not, through the process of reinforcement. To be effective in developing or changing behaviors, however, the principles of reward must be applied systematically and contingently. Although overly simplified, the basic premise is that desired behaviors should be followed by rewarding consequences. There is a principle frequently stated in the schools that is equally applicable at home — "Catch 'em being good." Typically, adaptive behaviors are taken for granted or go unnoticed, while much attention is given to some misdeed. An occasional altercation among siblings, for example, will be attended to much more extensively than positive sibling interactions which predominate perhaps 80 to 90% of the time. Children unresponsive to everyday rewards such as praise and hugs may require stronger more sophisticated procedures.

To illustrate, recall Tanya and her fighting. The first step was to help Tanya view her behavior more objectively. Through a brief discussion it was pointed out to Tanya that when the other children taunted her they only wanted to get her in trouble and she was serving their purpose. Being an intelligent youngster, Tanya immediately began to understand the self-defeating nature of her fighting. The next step was to help Tanya focus on positive rather than negative behaviors. Therefore, Tanya was encouraged to think of things she could do to stay out of fights, e.g., remind herself that these kids only want to get her in trouble, count to ten, walk away, and, as last resort, report the children threatening her to an authority figure. After acknowledging that she could perform any one or combination of these behaviors, Tanya discussed the likelihood that she would take these steps rather than fight. When the incentives of monetary rewards were introduced, Tanya enthusiastically embraced this idea. It was determined that Tanya would receive a designated sum for each specified time period she went without getting into a fight. It was hoped that after a substantial period of not fighting Tanya would begin to establish friends and find these relationships more rewarding than her former adversarial ones. This positive strategy was more desirable than the haphazard punishment she previously received for fighting, which had proved to be ineffective.

Another reinforcement example is the mother who was able to reduce her daughter's television watching by rewarding other behaviors such as reading books. This child was given points for each book read which could be exchanged for money. The money was to be used to buy a highly desired sweater. To keep the child focused on her goal, the mother cut a picture of the sweater into several pieces and posted the pieces as the child "earned" another fraction of the total sum. Over the two month period the mother observed the child showing less and less interest in TV, even during periods when TV viewing was permitted.

Indirect Instruction

There are many ways that parents can provide for indirect social skill instruction ranging from reading books to their children that highlight social skill development to structuring cooperative rather than competitive activities for their children. Two other procedures will be mentioned briefly here.

Parent Monitoring

Patterson (1982) suggests that 40% of delinquent behavior can be accounted for by parental monitoring. Parents need to continuously police the whereabouts and actions of their children. Black par-

ents need to revert to former strategies and encourage neighbors to monitor each others' children as well. The frequently heard statement of past years, "Please tell me if you see my child doing anything wrong.", has much merit and relevance for today. In the previously cited study by Looney and Lewis (1983), competent adolescents described their parents as being more strict than the parents of many of the other children they knew. This strictness, however, was viewed by these young people to be to their advantage.

Varied Experiences

Finally, parents of Black children need to be aware of the importance of varied experiences for their children. Black children, particularly innercity children, live in highly segregated environments. Yet, the standards imposed upon them are those of the larger White culture. Thus, success for these children is predicated on their ability to navigate both cultures. Studies comparing students in suburban integrated schools and students in innercity segregated schools find the former group to be more socially adjusted and successful in integrated higher education and work settings. (Cetron, 1985). Whether total social integration is possible or even desired can be questioned; however, there does appear to be a need for Black children to have sufficient movement outside the Black community to enable them to adjust and compete successfully with the predominant culture.

Summary

The social development of too many Black children and youths is at odds with the standards set for the larger society. In schools Black children are disproportionately singled out for disciplinary actions; in the community they are more likely to engage in aggressive acts against others, often inflicting great harm. In adulthood, these socially different Black youth are more likely to experience incarceration or vocational failure (often due to social problems such as failure to arrive on time or to complete assignments). While one may argue the ravages of racism and discrimination as contributing to these conditions, there is no question that the solutions for these problems reside within the Black community. The primary vehicle for intervention is the Black family which can be aided by other community institutions such as the Black Church. Through the church, parents can receive information and instructions which will enable them to become more aware of the behaviors that truly will lead to their child's survival and success. They also need to be impressed with their potential and responsibilities in teaching social skills to their children. And, finally, parents need to become informed of the various strategies they can use for social skill development in their children.

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Choosing Quality Child Day Care For the Black Child

by Sharon R. Blue, M.Ed., *Education Specialist,* Council for Economic Opportunities.

The considerations involved in understanding child day care, its impact and influence on the Black child, are so numerous and important that deciding where to begin is very difficult. Nevertheless, I will attempt to unravel the complexity of Choosing Quality Child Day Care for the Black Child.

Much about child day care is foundational knowledge needed by every parent and every adult concerned with the health and well-being of young children. There are some facets of the area, however, that may be peculiar to the Black parent and child. It is with both of these considerations that I will deal and will develop a body of facts for your use as you move about your personal and professional circles, informing others on child day care and the needs of the Black family. Finally, you will receive some suggestions for needed policy and a vision for child day care in the Black community today and in the future.

Why is child day care important to the Black family?

In Cuyahoga County, based upon 1,000 calls received at the Center for Human Services Child Care Information and Referral Service (Rhodes & Real, 1985):

- over 70% of single mothers earned less than $10,500 a year
- over 60% required full-time care for their children
- about half were placing their children in care for the first time and the rest were hoping to change arrangements
- the majority sought in-home care, but in its absence, overwhelmingly preferred center-based care to family day care homes.

The most recent poverty index published by the Department of Health and Human Services indicates that a family of four with an income of $10,500 is poor. Far too many Black children live in poverty and in families that are marginally middle class in terms of annual income.

Child care should support Black families as they work to raise their standard of living. Therefore, in a society where single parenting is becoming commonplace and the financial pressures of modern life increasingly demanding, Black families find the need for day care central to their economic survival and advancement.

Good child day care should—

- help Black parents find and hold jobs
- provide opportunities for members of Black families to enter job training and higher education
- give Black parents of handicapped children support in meeting their child's special needs
- provide a place of interest and challenge where Black children learn and develop under the guidance of trained professionals and paraprofessionals
- provide an acceptable alternative for the latch-key child who otherwise returns to an empty house after school
- prepare Black children to successfully meet the challenges of school and later life.

Additionally, Black parents must realize the advantages of a quality child day care experience to their children in the present and in the future. The broader community must be made knowledgeable of the long-term benefits derived by society when children are properly provided for in the absence of their parents.

A recent report titled *Changed Lives* stated that quality early childhood experience results in some impressive benefits to children and to society —

- decreased representation on welfare rolls
- higher employment rates
- fewer teenage pregnancies
- decreased involvement with law enforcement
- decreased expenditures for remedial education programs
- above average performance on tests of functional competence

- increasing numbers of minority and disadvantaged youth graduating from high school and enrolling in post-secondary education
- increased IQ scores

Findings such as these need to be talked about and shared with others.

Perhaps John Locke's most significant contribution to educational thought was his suggestion that the mind was a "tabula rasa" or blank slate. Locke believed that the mind gives rise to ideas in response to experience — experience in the form of sensation or reflection. If Locke was right, then the young mind is so impressionable, so malleable and so very vulnerable as to humble parent, teacher, preacher and politician in the magnitude of the responsibility that is ours as we nurture and educate our children.

In every generation, Black parents have sought to give their children advantages that would improve their quality of life. Parents in the 80's are no different. Since the advent of Head Start, parents of every economic level have come to know the importance of early experience. However, the variety of programs for young children and their inconsistency in quality can be perplexing to the uninitiated and the unprepared. The gravity of the child care decision demands simplification of the decision-making process. A useful format for looking at the comparative value of available options in the marketplace is imperative as well as a means for determining their suitability to unique family needs.

What is child day care?

I will tell you what it is not. It is not unhappy children sitting in barren rooms with nothing of value to engage their minds or to stimulate their development. As early as 1967, Dr. Betty Caldwell, past-president of the National Association for the Education of Young Children, maintained that early childhood education and child day care are the same. If they are not in fact, they should be in deed, and it is necessary that parents locate programs meeting this expectation. Do not make the mistake of assuming child day care to be inferior to nursery school, Montessori schools, or child development programs. Likewise, do not believe that all child care programs offer or deny benefits equally to children regardless of the level of program quality.

Awareness that in every community differences in the quality of child day care exist is a first step toward understanding the true nature of early childhood programs in your own community. Encourage wise consumer behavior. Just as one would shop for any other commodity, encourage parents to shop around. If the search for child care results from one or more traumatic or inopportune events, encourage care. Discourage impulse buying. Do not succumb to the desperation of pressing time and immediate need. Comparision shopping identifies what is available in the marketplace and how much it costs. Look for the best child day care program your dollar can buy. The things to consider when evaluating child day care programs are the following:

- health and safety
- staff qualifications and development
- physical environment
- staff/child ratios
- child/adult interactions
- curriculum
- parent involvement, and
- nutrition and food service

Assessing these points will assist in comparing the child day care programs being investigated and helps you to discover the differences they exhibit.

Considerations for evaluating child day care environments.

Children are entitled to a safe environment, free of hazardous materials, situations, conditions and, if I might add, people. Cleanliness and attractiveness are important to children's health and happiness. An environment that is socialiy, emotionally, intellectually and physically safe will see children developing positively.

Children in day care are active for several hours every day. Professional child care recognizes that play and learning place great demands upon children's energy. For this reason, quality child care organizes the day's events to provide opportunities for active play alternated with quiet activity. Such a schedule discourages needless behavior problems due to fatigue and over-stimulation. Avoiding the negative effects of fatigue and over-stimulation may lead to assessment of nutrition and feeding practices. Professional day care should complement and support the benefits of family life in a variety of ways.

If a child leaves home before breakfast and remains in care through the lunch hour, he/she should receive two wholesome, tasty and well-balanced meals and two nutritious snacks every day. If children are not receiving these meals, anoher child care situation should be found. Children become lethargic, irritable and unable to learn proficiently without ample nutrition.

Group day care must be licensed to operate legally. State and local regulations cover a great number of essential issues vital to program provision including staff qualifications. Yet great diversity in staffing continues. Some centers employ only well-trained professionals, while others hire anyone who expresses a liking for small children and a desire to work with them. Ask the program administrator about hiring prac-

tices and the level of education and experience held by staff currently employed. Staff competence and training will influence the activities chosen and guide the quality of planning for classroom activities.

The physical setting in which the program is conducted affects the quality of the child day care program. All child day care facilities do not enjoy the same level of financial support. Some centers receive funds from social service agencies, the federal government, or they are large day care franchises. These centers may have more elaborate facilities, equipment and materials than privately owned, small businesses. Many small, privately owned child care centers are undercapitalized and many are too heavily dependent upon highly competitive and dwindling public dollars for the continuing quality of their service delivery. Too often Black child day care owners are in this provider category. These providers are trapped in a plantation economy capable of little more than a too little, too late, bandaid approach to business.

Appearance should not be the sole determiner of your evaluation of a center. Assess the program for adequacy and appropriateness. Look to see if enough playthings are available to children, because this reduces disputes among children over possession. Look for a program that has a written educational mission or intent. Find out how the staff plans for children's development and learning.

Some child day care centers conduct assessments of children's development shortly after their enrollment. The information gained is valuable in understanding individual children's prior learning experience and history. It may also indicate a preferred learning style as well as areas of strength and weakness. Those who plan for children can use such information to identify specific learning experiences and to encourage interest and growth. Young children should be exposed to learning experiences set in an atmosphere of natural play and social interaction. Children learn about basic concepts in arithmetic while building with unit blocks or develop language skills while talking with friends in the housekeeping corner. Young children will learn to appreciate books and good literature while sitting on a friendly lap during storytime. Opportunities to learn methods of scientific inquiry are available while observing ants in an ant farm or while playing at a water table. When visiting a day care center, these kinds of activities should be obvious to you. If not, ask to see copies of past lesson plans.

How does class size affect program quality?

Providing a quality child day care experience depends in part upon the number of children enrolled in a program. License requirements regulate the total number of children a child care facility is approved to serve. In most places, law mandates the maximum number of children who can be cared for by a single adult. The younger the children, the more adults are needed to meet the children's individual needs. Federally funded programs must meet adult:child ratios for — 3 year olds of 1:3; for 4 year olds of 1:5 and for 5 year olds of 1:7. Unfortunately, Ohio law is considerably less stringent stipulating under Ohio Revised Code: infants, 1:8, toddlers, 1:10, preschoolers, 1:15.

Stress-producing situations in poorly staffed classrooms strain relationships between children and adults. Children need prompt and sensitive attention to their physical, emotional, social and intellectual needs. In fact, they profit little from associations with unpleasant and unresponsive adults who neither appreciate nor enjoy them. The intensity of the demands placed upon teacher patience, energy, resourcefulness and skill are exhausting. Exhaustion leads to irritability, inattentiveness, disorganization and carelessness. Teacher/child interactions characterized as disagreeable, harsh, or unfriendly are harmful to development, because the tension and anxiety they produce affect learning negatively.

When the point of seriously considering the enrollment of a child in a day care center is reached, it is crucial that both parent and child feel secure about the new surroundings. Both should feel welcome in the center and valued as human beings. Personal dignity should be upheld by respectful and friendly associations with the adults in the center. Positive personal regards should be extended to parent and child by using their names to refer to and address them. Using a person's name communicates recognition, appreciation, affection and respect.

Relationships between Blacks and Whites in American have been influenced by the slave experience. Studies have looked at casual eye contact between Whites and Blacks and discovered that many Whites habitually avert their glance away from Blacks. Years of cultural expectations have taught Whites the art of rendering African Americans invisible. Television and print media fail to show African Americans in their most favorable light when they are shown at all. Under such cultural influences, it is understandable that non-Blacks fail to appreciate or value Blacks and the Black perspective. Professional child day care recognizes the importance of feelings of acceptance and of security as they contribute to developing feelings of trust.

Developing positive self-regard depends heavily upon seeing oneself as valuable and worthwhile. Quality child day care for Black children must incorporate Black cultural references into the fabric of the early childhood classroom curriculum. The Black cultural experience is rich with highly refined expressive art forms, religious tradition intermingled with an inheritance from the mainstream culture. A tapestry expressive of the diversity that is the Black perspective

is a most desirable characteristic of quality child care for Black children.

Understand parental need for the preschool child's adjustment. During the early days of enrollment parents may feel the need to drop in inconspicuously to observe their child in play or to check on their emotional frame of mind. Parental freedom to arrive unannounced at the center and to be admitted without question or concern should be undisputed. There should be no hesitation or discomfort at the idea of parents spending time in the center or in the classroom until a child is prepared to be away from the parent for some period of time. Parental concern for the child's smooth transition from home to preschool and his/her positive adjustment should be regarded as normal and acceptible. Professional child day care will welcome parents in the center or the classroom with children until it is apparent that the child feels comfortable enough to be left alone.

Thus far, I have spoken to you mainly as consumers and parents. Now I would like to speak with you as professionals who care for children or in some less direct way influence the quality of their lives. I don't want to bore you with statistics, but I do want to give you a picture of the importance of child day care to the Black child and to the Black family. If you will bear with me, I will share some important facts with you.

In 1980, the number of working mothers in Ohio with preschool children increased over 42%. This represents a 250% increase in 20 years *(Day Care: Investing in Ohio's children.)* In 1985, one in seven Ohio families with children is headed by a single mother. In Cuyahoga County, this number has grown to one in five families and households headed by females are the fastest growing poverty group in our society. In Cuyahoga County, 89, 534 youngsters under nine need day care services *(Legislative Factbook About Our Children)*. 36,354 of these children live in single-parent families and 53,159 live in two-parent families. 47,234 children under age eight receive public assistance, but only one in 25 of these Cuyahoga County children receives subsidized day care allowing their parents to work. According to Mark Real of the Children's Defense Fund, the day care demand has increased significantly and will continue to do so into the next decade.

Full day care in Ohio costs from $11.00 to $15.00 per day per child. Imagine if you will 100 children at $15.00 a day grosses $30,000 a month in child care fees. Clearly, providing day care in Ohio is no longer small potatoes. Day care is potentially big business. Yet day after day, Black parents take their hard earned day care dollars and put them back into the hands of the system that oppresses them. The power of the dollar and the benefits of supporting minority providers must be learned.

Asa Hilliard has called for a shift in the priorities of educational research from an analysis of children and families at risk to a more thorough analysis of formal and informal systems that impede the delivery of high quality child care. Hilliard also points out the disparity in quality between services to the children of the rich and the poor, and between majority and minority cultural groups. Further, he states that it is not families and children who are to blame for their plight, but government and private sector response to providing the necessary support for child care when families are unable to do so.

A list of needed steps to improve Ohio child care programs is included here. All items were taken and revised from *Day Care: Investigating Ohio's Children.*

1. To help low-income families get jobs, Ohio should restore the $11 million cut from day care programs since 1981.
2. Ohio should enact a *day care tax credit* for low- and moderate-income working families.
3. Ohio should make low-interest loans available to day care programs in order for them to improve their facilities, programs and quality of staff.
4. Ohio should upgrade its day care licensing standards and apply them uniformly to all programs.
5. Ohio needs to hire more day care licensing specialists to conduct annual unannounced inspections of every program.
6. The state should permit local school boards to spend money to collaborate on day care projects with long-time early childhood/ day care providers.
7. Ohio should initiate a child abuse prevention program for child care workers and parents.
8. Ohio should update its zoning laws and building codes to permit day care to be available in all communities.
9. Ohio should assess the day care needs of its families on a regular basis.

The challenge is to speak out on behalf of creative solutions to the child day care need in the African American community. Developing new cooperative systems that provide funds for minority development of culturally inclusive programs for Afro-American youngsters are needed. There is a need for early childhood programs which are culturally inclusive of the Afro-American perspective and in large part, the work of Janice Hale-Benson gives the rationale for development of such programs. Such programs must be systematically studied to understand their effect on learning.

Konjufu stated yesterday that if you do not know who you are, you cannot know what to do with your life. Black children must know who they are. They must know the beauty of mother Africa and how richly she has blessed them with talent and intellect. Black children must know of those whose sacrifice makes possible their becoming all they are destined to be. Black children must know that life is sweeter because of the bitter times through which their forebearers have come. Black children can only learn of themselves in classrooms that respect them, reflect them and expect them to be productive and achieving.

Black adults can communicate the pride of African American-ness. My mother told the story of America, her great aunt, a freed-woman whose name expressed the hope of her parents. Mother told the story of a great grandfather who played the "fiddle" that hangs over her fireplace. She told of his shrewd business sense. How he played for pennies first buying the fiddle, the instrument of his freedom, then himself, his wife and his children. These stories illustrate how African Americans survive the cruelties of slavery. They point out how we have thrived in spite of oppression and have grown strong as a result of it. Black adults hear the stories of Africa, of the South, of slavery and freedom with both the heart and the head. There are lessons to teach and to learn of struggle in the face of adversity. There are virtues to develop — persistence, endurance, hope, commitment, self-assurance and love.

It is essential that ways be found whereby Afro American children can see the uniqueness of their culture reflected in the content and composition of the curriculum to which they are exposed. While much of the Black American experience is shared by the majority culture, there are significant peculiarities which are overlooked by the greater society and, as a result, limit the Black child's participation in school and later life. We must invest in our children. They are our future.

Black Families and Older Child Adoptions: Characteristics, Success Rates, and Use of Supports

by Ellen E. Pinderhughes, Ph.D., Clinical Psychologist

During the past decade, adoptions of black children have steadily increased. In fact, in 1982 the rate of adoptions in the Black community was four times greater than the adoption rate in the White or Hispanic communities, when family composition, income and parents' age were held constant (Maza, 1984). More than 50% of Black adoptees are over age five.

However, despite such an increasing phenomenon, little is known about the adoptions of Black children over age five. This dearth of knowledge results from two historical patterns: the lack of attention accorded older children in adoption practice, and the inattention to Black children in both adoption practice and literature. Until the early 1970's, agencies emphasized the placement of the "right" infant in a financially secure, middle income home. Older children, Black infants, and other non-White infants seldom were considered adoptable. Since 1961, however, the availability of infants has decreased dramatically (Shyne & Schroeder, 1978). As the availability of infants decreased, there has been a corresponding increase in the number of older children, Black children and other "hard-to-place" children who have been adopted (Gill, 1978; Jones, 1978). To meet these increasing pressing needs of older children for permanent homes, adoption practices have shifted somewhat.

In 1983, of the 50,000 children legally available for adoption, 36% were over age ten. Thirty-six percent of those placed in adoptive homes were over age six. Almost 35% of all these children were Black. This is a dramatic increase in the numbers of Black children legally available and formally adopted since 1969. At that time only 7% of Black children were in formal adoptive placements (Hill, 1977).

Until as recently as six years ago the inracial adoption of Black children received little attention in adoption practice or literature. A number of factors functioned to produce this result. Agencies tended to have strict eligibility criteria and home study procedures which served to decrease the pool of prospective adoptive Black families either through screening or self-withdrawal. In addition, agencies tended to discourage Black mothers seeking assistance for releasing their infants for adoption (Day, 1979). Finally, as Billingsley and Giovannoni (1970) noted, adoption was one of the last services extended to Black children by the child welfare system. Although there were few interracial adoptions formally sanctioned, many families expanded their numbers through informal adoptions.

Hill (1977) highlighted the numbers of Black children and families united informally. Using data from the Census, Hill found that of the Black children who had been born out of wedlock in 1968, 90% were informally placed with relatives in 1969. Significant not only were the numbers involved in successful informal adoptions, but also the fact that these families previously had not been studied. In this important work, Hill called for a change in adoption policies, an expansion of criteria for adoptive parents to include low income and Black families who also have demonstrated the potential to be successful adoptive families.

In recent years, the criteria for adoptive parenthood have changed. There is growing recognition that good adoptive families are not found exclusively in middle income two parent homes, but also can be found among low-income couples or single parents. While financial stability remains an important criterion, factors other than amount of income are considered, for example the ability of a family to live within its financial constraints. With this expansion of the criteria for adoptive parenthood, formal inracial adoption of older black children has increased.

However, adoption of older children — be they Black or non-Black — are considered high risk placements (Gill, 1978). Adoption practitioners estimate that 25% to 40% of adoptive placements of older children disrupt, resulting in the adoptee being removed from the home. With such high disruption rates, needed are pre- and post-placement supports which are effective in facilitating successful adoptive placements. Needed first, however, is information about the characteristics of adoptees and their parents, and families, perceptions and use of existing supports. Such information can enhance the efficacy of adoption support services, particularly for adoptive Black families.

This paper will discuss specific findings from two small exploratory studies in the area of older child adoptions and their implications for improving adoption services for Black families.

Study One.

Method

The first study, conducted during 1984-1985 explored the characteristics of children placed for adoption after age five, characteristics of their adoptive parents, and the relationship between these characteristics and the outcome of adoption within two years.

Subjects. Recruitment efforts targeted all children born between 1969 and 1976 and placed for adoption between January, 1982 and January, 1984 by four adoption agencies serving two large metropolitan areas. Two agencies specialized in special needs adoptions and two agencies were general service agencies for children.

Males and females between the ages of six and fourteen at the time of placement (current ages eight to fifteen) comprised the sample. The distribution of age and gender was based on the available population. Only Black and White children who were placed with families of the same ethnic background were recruited. Of a total of 69 children and families eligible for recruitment, 53 consented to participate.

Measures. Data on adoptees' age, gender, and ethnicity were collected directly from case records. In addition, case record information was used to rate adoptees' disabilities and life histories. Ratings of the type and severity of disability were made on a general scale of disability and could range from 0 — not disabled to 60 — extremely disabled.

information on children's experiences with birth parents was collected and included the amount of deprivation children experienced, the emotional health of birth parents, job stability for birth parents, substance abuse and criminal records of birth parents, and birth parents' attitudes to the child.

Other life history information gathered included the reason for termination of parental rights, the stability of the adoptee's pretermination experiences, number of months the adoptee spent in the social service system between first removal from his/her biological home and the adoptive placement, number of months the adoptee was institutionalized, number of moves the adoptee experienced, and whether the adoptee was placed alone or with biological siblings.

Data on parent's marital status, socioeconomic status (SES), and family size were gathered during home visits. Information gathered to rate parent's SES included occupation and educational level. Parents' SES then was rated using Hollingshead Four Factor Index of Social Status (1983) which assesses five categories of social status ranging from major businessman and professional to unskilled laborer and menial service worker.

Current status of the placement was reported by the caseworker who indicated whether or not the adoptee was still in the home.

Results and Discussion

Characteristics of Adoptees. Adoptees were first removed from birth parents at 5.6 years of age and were placed in their adoptive homes at an average of 10.8 years. Of this group, 62% were male, 38% female; 34% were Black 66% were White. Two parent familes adopted 55% of the adoptees while single parent families adopted 45% of the sample. Although a range of income statuses were represented, adopted families tended to be lower middle income with parents in positions such as skilled crafts, clerical and sales work or machine operators. Adoptees were placed in families with an average of 4.4 members. Of the 53 adoptees, 62% (n = 33) had biological siblings, and of these 33 children, 53% (n = 17) were placed with their sibling(s).

With respect to disablity, 89% of adoptees had some degree of emotional disturbance as a primary disability. Other disabilities included mental retardation (7%), and learning disabilities (2%). Two percent had no disability.

Information gathered on life histories indicates that before being separated from biological parents, adoptees experienced moderate deprivation. These children were released either voluntarily (45%) or involuntarily (42%) by parents whose problems included marital discord, unstable family environments, unemployment, limited financial resources, limited intellectual resources and inability to be emotionally available to the child. The remaining 13% of the sample were released immediately at birth, or following one or both parents' death(s) or divorce.

Ethnic differences emerged with respect to children's age and disabilities. Black children were younger and less disabled than were White children. These and other ethnic differences are presented in Table 1. These unexpected differences favoring Black children are contradictory to studies (e.g., Murray, 1984; Institute for Child Advocacy, 1985) on children in the social service system who await placement. Essen-

tially those studies document that black children wait longer for placements and are older than White children.

The contradiction between this research and previous research is tied to differences in the studies' samples. Previous studies examined characteristics of children who wait, while this research studied characteristics of children who are placed for adoption. Throughout the history of adoption, the most desirable children from the available pool have been placed first. Thus, despite the emphasis on hard-to-place adoptees in the last 10-15 years, the most adoptable or least disturbed White children have been placed first, leaving a current pool of more disturbed, older and harder-to-place White adoptees. In contrast, with the relatively recent emphasis on black adoptions, the most adoptable Black children now are finding homes. Thus, it is likely that the more disabled Black children still wait for permanent homes.

This speculation is confirmed by other ethnic differences found in the present study. As Table 1 shows, Black children (56%) were more likely to have parental rights, involuntarily terminated due to neglect (x (3) = 10.35, $p<.05$), while 17% of White children were released for the same reason. While 17% of White children had parental rights terminated due to abuse, no Black child did. Black children (83%) tended to experience more neglect than did White children. In contrast, White children (35%) tended to experience more abuse than did Black children (11%). Apparently Black children in this sample were removed under less abusive situations and may have been emotionally healthier and easier to place than White children.

Finally, Black children were placed more frequently (x (1) = 3.81, $p<.05$) with single parent families than were White children. Two-thirds of Black children were united with single parents while only 34% of White children were so placed.

Success and Failure of Placements. Of the total sample (N = 53), 75% (n = 40) were still in the adoptive home at the time of the study, while 25% (n = 13) had been removed. Disruption rates were no different among Black adoptees (28% disrupted) than among White adoptees (23% disrupted).

Among Black adoptees, certain preplacement characteristics were significantly related to the success or failure of placements. As Table 2 shows, characteristics which were most critical to outcome included the amount of deprivation adoptees experienced, and the size of the adoptive family. Adoptees who experienced more deprivation with biological families disrupted more frequently. More surprising were the findings related to family size. Children placed in smaller (with an average of 3.3 members) families disrupted more frequently than did children placed with larger families (with an average of 4.7 members). Subsequent analyses examining the influence of marital status as well as family size revealed that children disrupted more frequently in smaller families, regardless of marital status.

Table 1

Adoptee Characteristics by Ethnicity

	Black n = 18		**White** n = 35	
Age at Separation	5.7 years		5.5	
Age at Placement	9.7 years		11.5	*
Current Age	11.3 years		12.9	
Gender				
Male	10	56%	23%	66%
Female	8	44%	12	34%
Adoptive Family				
Marital Status				**
Single Parent	12	67%	12	34%
Two Parent	6	33%	23	66%
Family Size	4.8 members		4.2	
Disability	24.44		33.86	***
Previous Moves	5.61		5.71	
Months in the System	47.78		70.17	
Months Institutionalized	5.72		16.80	
Termination of Parental Rights at birth, after				
death/divorce	1	5%	6	17%
voluntarily	7	39%	17	49%
invol., neglect	10	56%	6	17%
invol., abuse	0		6	17%
Pretermination experiences				
stable	1	6%	6	17%
unstable, neglect	15	83%	18	53%
unstable, abuse	2	11%	12	35%

* $t(51) = 2.88$, $p<.05$
** x (1) = 3.81, $p<.05$
*** $t(51) = 2.33$, $p<.05$
**** x (3) = 10.35, $p<.05$

What does the large family offer an adoptee that a small family can not? The presence of other children in the home relationship and provides the older adoptee with probably helps to diffuse the intensity of the parent-child developmentally appropriate opportunities to negotiate peer relationships. In addition, parents in large families have experienced greater diversity in children's behavior and personalities, and thus may be more accepting of the adoptee.

Table 2

Characteristics of Intact and Disrupted Black Adoptees

	Intact n=13		Disrupted n=5	
Age at separation	5.8		5.4	
Age at placement	9.4		10.4	
Gender				
Male	8	61%	2	40%
Female	5	39%	3	60%
Adoptive Family				
Marital Status				
Single parent	8	61%	4	80%
Two parent	5	39%	1	20%
Family Size	5.38 members		3.4	
Disability	21.77	31.4	*	
Months in System	43.2	59.8		
Deprivation	13.9	19.4	**	

* $t(16) = 2.13$, $p < .05$
** $t(16) = 2.40$, $p < .05$

The two major findings of Study One raise questions about adoption practice with respect to Black families. First, Black children who are placed for adoption currently are younger and less disabled than are White children. Still awaiting placements are older, more disabled Black children. Second, large families are more successful adopters than are smaller families. One might immediately ask questions such as whether Black adoptees, especially those older and more disabled, should be placed with small families. However, with more than 11,000 Black children awaiting adoptive placements (Maza, 1983), adoption practioners should emphasize designing services that can enable more Black families to become successful adopters rather than devising exclusionary criteria. Indeed, these findings do highlight the importance of providing supportive services to adoptive Black families.

As Black families adopt harder-to-place children, the importance of support services increases, and knowledge about families' perceptions or use of existing services will be helpful in the future design of supports.

Study Two.

The second study, conducted in 1982, provides findings on Black families' supports and their participation in an agency sponsored post-placement service. This study explored factors related to families' decisions about participating in a voluntary and free ten session adoption bonding program designed to help adoptive familes adjust and build new relationships. With an experiental and educational focus, this program facilitates family adjustment by helping members to learn about the family's rules, expectations, and rituals; to communicate and build relationships; and with support about worries, anxieties and the normal ambivalence that accompany the addition of a new family member.

Factors that were studied included families, backgrounds, existing informal supports, attitudes toward mental health professionals, and perceptions of the specific post-placement service. Of particular interest were differences between Black and White families and those factors related to participation and nonparticipation among Black families.

Method

Subjects. Twenty-two families who were referred to this program between its inception in November, 1980 and the start of the study in June, 1982 were recruited. These were families, couples, and single adults who adopted a child over age five with neither a physical handicap nor severe retardation. Introductory letters and follow-up contacts yielded 18 families (82% of population), including single adults, willing to participate in the study.

Measures. Data collected on families' backgrounds included marital status, ethnicity, SES, and number of children in the adoptive family prior to the placement of the adoptee. Data on the availability and use of supports, attitudes toward mental health professionals, and perceptions of the specific post-placement service were collected using an interview and questionnaire that were designed for this study. The interview was open ended and was composed of questions. The questionnaire included 10 items which were rated on a Likert-type scale.*

*Sample questions were: 1) availability and use of supports — If things went badly at home, who are the people you could turn to for real comfort and support?; 2) perceptions about childrearing and mental health — parents who

raise their own children really know about their children. Experts, on the other hand, really know about children, too. Please rate — from 1 to 6 who you feel knows most about children; 3) perceptions of the bonding program — What sounded good about the bonding program? When should it begin?

Families consenting to be interviewed were seen at home. Both families who had participated and those who chose not to participate in the bonding program were interviewed. Administration of the questionnaire immediately followed the termination of the interview. The average duration of these visits was 50 minutes.

Results and Discussion

Sample Characteristics. Of the 18 families interviewed, 56% (n=10) were Black and 44% (n=8) were White. Among the Black families, 40% were married and 60% were single. All but one of the single Black parents were women. Equal numbers of White families were married or single. Fifty percent of Black families were middle to upper income, and 50% were lower income. In contrast, 63% of the White families were middle to upper income. With respect to children in the home, 70% of Black families and 50% of White families had children prior to the adoptive placement. More striking were ethnic differences found among single parents. Fifty-percent of single Black parents had previous children while no single White parent did.

Factors Related to Participation. The criterion for participation was attendance at a minimum of three sessions. Sixty-one percent of all families chose to participate while 39% did not participate. Among Black families, 50% participated while 75% of White families participated.

Some trends toward ethnic differences were found in the availability and use of supports, and perceptions of the bonding program. No differences were found with respect to attitudes of mental health professionals. Of the Black families, 50% had both immediate and extended family members living in the same city, while only 20% of White families reported such family members available. Differences also emerged in the actual support for adoption which families received. Among Black families, 60% received support from all their family members, 30% received mixed support, and 10% received no support. Thirty-seven percent of White families received total support, 37% mixed support, and 25% no support.

In this second study, several characteristics tended to distinguish adoptive Black families from adoptive White families. Black families tended to have children already in the home, to have a large family network available, and to receive support from relatives for the adoption. All of these factors may account for the lower participation rate by Blacks. The availability of a large family network has been noted by Hill (1972) and McAdoo (1982) as an important strength of Black families. One important feature of this network is the potential to help the adoptive family cope with stress associated with the new placement. Black families may have perceived less need for formal support through this bonding service because they were receiving support informally within their families.

A significant ethnic difference was found in families perceptions of the bonding program. Specifically, Black families tended to suggest that bonding begin after or at placement, while White families requested that bonding start before or at placement. In suggesting that bonding start later, Black families, for whatever reasons, also tended to want time immediately after placement to adjust and bond on their own as a family. This was most poignantly explained by one parent, who in fact participated. She noted, "I wanted S. all to myself. I felt shucks — I was adopting her — she's really not mine — like when are we gonna be alone? It's, better to start after awhile....You go through hell to get a child. Once you get it, you want it to be yours, at least for awhile." Although no ethnic differences emerged in families' attitudes toward mental health professionals, Black families may have perceived bonding and when it was offered as more intrusive than did White families. This finding raises questions about the appropriate timing of post-placement services and whether this may differ for Black and White families.

Within the Black sample, participation in bonding appeared to be related to several factors. These factors included marital status, availability of relatives in the same city, perceptions of the bonding program, and current needs of adoptive families.

Single parents (67%) participated in bonding more frequently than did couples (25%). With respect to relatives living in the same city, families who did not participate tended to have both immediate and extended family available, while participtating families had either or none available. This factor perhaps accounts for the differences found between single parent and two parent families. Single parent families not only participated more, but also had fewer relatives living in the same city.

Participation tended to influence families' recommendations about when bonding should begin. Non-participating families tended to suggest that bonding be offered not at all or weeks after placement while participating families tended to want bonding offered closer to the placement date.

When asked about current needs, 80% of non-participating families expressed a need for psychotherapy, while only 20% of participating families reported such a need. Of the remaining participating families, 20% requested tutoring, 40% financial support, and 20% reported no need. Although the bonding program's effectiveness in facilitating successful outcomes is not clear, participating families did perceive it to be quite helpful in facilitating adjustment and resolving problems.

Conclusion

These two exploratory studies provide new information about adoptions of older Black children. These older Black adoptees were separated from biological parents at an average age of 5.7 years after experiencing moderate deprivation. After moving 5.6 times during an average of four years in the social system, these children were placed in adoptive homes at 9.7 years of age. Of the sample, 89% had some degree of emotional disturbance as a primary disability. Black adoptees were placed in single (67%) and two parent (33%) families who had an average of 4.9 members. Slightly more than 25% of these placements disrupted. Most striking were the findings that Black adoptees were younger and less disabled than were their White counterparts. It is suggested that the older, more disabled Black children are yet to be placed. Family size played an important role in the success of placements: large adoptive families were more successful than were small families.

Black families participated less frequently in the post-placement support program described in Study Two. Factors related to Black families' decisions about participation included availability of support through extended family members, marital status of the adoptive parent(s), and perceptions of the specific program. Single Black parents and Black families with fewer extended family members available participated more frequently than did families with two parents and more extended members, respectively. Participants tended to suggest that the program be offered sooner in the placement and reported less subsequent need for psychotherapy than did non-participants.

What are the implications of these findings for enhancing adoptive services to Black families? As adoption practitioners provide support services, they should consider the findings from Study Two regarding factors related to Black families' participation. This is perhaps most critical for higher risk placements in which Black families adopt older and more disabled children.

The most salient finding which emerged is the availability of relatives as a source of support. Adoption practitioners must address this strength in Black families as they design pre- and post-placement services to facilitate post-placement adjustment. For example, the home study process could be expanded to include an assessment by the prospective adoptive family not only of its own ability to successfully adopt, but also of how it currently does and will be able to draw on the support of the family network to facilitate adjustment. Post-placement services such as the one described in Study Two should increase their flexibility to work with the extended family network as well as the adoptive nuclear family. Special meetings with the family at home may facilitate the involvement of more members of the family network.

Adoption services which include the extended family are particularly important for small families, who as found in Study One, are disrupting more. Services could be designed to minimize the influence of factors which perhaps contribute to the higher disruption rate among small families. These factors possibly include too intense a parent-child relationship, one which can be threatening for an adoptee who has suffered multiple broken attachments. In addition, fewer siblings in the home reduces the opportunities adoptees have to master the age appropriate tasks of negotiating peer relationships. Involving extended family members either directly or indirectly may help diffuse the intensity of the parent-child relationship and provide the adoptee and adoptive parent with other important people as support.

The expansion and enhancement of pre- and post-placement adoption services for adoptive Black families will serve to recognize and affirm the family network as an important strength for adoptive Black families. Furthermore, such changes will reflect a long overdue sensitivity on the part of adoption practitioners to the needs of Black adoptees who are placed with adoptive Black families.

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Communication Development of the Birth to Three Year Old Child: The Role of the Parent*

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Introduction

The long term implications of developmental communication disorders have been well documented in the current literature in speech and language pathology, behavioral pediatrics, psychology, and education. Variables that are likely to affect language development include cultural, environmental, and economic factors. Studies demonstrate that many children with problems in the area of language development are likely to experience academic, communicative, and psychosocial difficulties at least into adolescence and probably into adult-hood (Aram and Nation, 1980; King, Jones, and Lasky, 1982). These studies highlight the importance of making the early interactive environment of the child as facilitative as possible for language development (Hubbell, 1981). The home is the classroom for these important early interactions, therefore the parent emerges as the natural teacher. Specific techniques can be utilized by the parent in order to best facilitate the language acquisition process. This paper discusses the communication development of the child from birth to three years old and focuses on the role of the parent in this development.

Language Development Stages: Birth to Three Years

Cross-cultural observations of children have demonstrated that all children progress through predictable stages of language development. The language development stages of children from birth to three years are summarized in Table 1 and Table 2.

Variables Affecting Language Development Stages

Even though stages in Table 1 and Table 2 are predictable, not all children learn language at the same rate. Although the learning rate is most dependent on cognitive ability and the relative intactness of the child's neurologic system, an important contributing factor has been shown to be the interaction between the child and the caregiver (Cross, 1984). These interactive opportunities are critically important to the child learning language. Language is a social tool and inherent in the use of language is the attention of another person. For the child, the parent is the primary person. Children may differ in their rate of acquisition of language because of individual differences, cultural differences, and environmental differences. It is possible, however, for the parent to minimize the effects of these differences by providing communicative interactions which are structured to increase the child's language use. These strategies of communicative interactions are discussed in the following sections.

Table 1

Preverbal Language Development Stages

What You Will Hear	Definition	Age Range
Coo	vowel sounds - ah	Birth to 3 months
Babble	meaningless sound combination ba, la	1 to 6 months
Lalling	meaningless repetitive sound combinations ba-ba-ba	6 to 9 months
Jargon	imitation of sound patterns	9 to 12 months
Echolalia	immediate imitation	12 to 18 months

Table 2

Early Verbal Language Development Stages

What You Will Hear	Examples	Age Range
1st True Word	ba-ba (blanket) ma-ma (mother)	10 to 18 months
Single Words	mommy ball	10 to 18 months
2 Word Combinations	mommy ball more juice	18 to 24 months
3 Word Combinations	mommy play ball *"name"* more juice	24 to 36 months

Role of the Parent in Affecting Language Development

Language can be defined as an agreed upon system of words and gestures used to communicate thoughts and actions. While it is the parent who at first

uses the language, communication with the child occurs interactively. The known pattern of stimulus--response becomes the mechanism for functional communication development. Speech-Language Pathologists refer to this functional development of language as pragmatics. Pragmatics refers to the use of our communication skills in a social context to affect or change our environment. Children interact pragmatically with their parents from birth. Bates (1976) defines the pragmatic development process by dividing it into three stages. In this progression the child and the parent work together in a common communication goal which results in an interaction between them. The adult takes advantage of what the child does and shapes the behavior of the child into functional communication resulting in meaningful speech. Table 3 summarizes these stages.

Table 3
Three Stages of Pragmatic Development

Stage	Definition
Perlocutionary	Child exhibits a behavior (not necessarily intended as communication)
	Parent interprets it as communication and reinforces it with a response
Illocutionary	Child exhibits a behavior, uses a nonverbal gesture or sound, which he has learned in previous stage illicits a response from adult
	Parent understands this as communication and reinforces it with a response
Locutionary	Child now uses a verbal behavior, a word or a word-like structure to replace the nonverbal gesture or sound
	Parent responds and reinforces it

It is obvious that progression through these stages, for the child, requires the cooperation of the adult through turn-taking. The role of the parent now is clear. Turn-taking allows the adult to be a facilitator for language learning. In order to maximally benefit the child, this turn-taking requires that the adult not only provides the stimulus but also allows time for the child to process the information and then waits for the response. It is important that the child realizes that the adult is anticipating the response and has given time for formulation of the child's part in the turn-taking interaction. When the adult fails as a facilitator of turn-taking by taking the child's turn for him, two things occur (MacDonald and Gillette, 1984): the child has missed an important language practice and the adult has missed finding out what the child could have done in that turn. Successful turn-taking requires that both the parent and the child enter into the communicative interaction as partners utilizing actions, sounds or words.

Practical Techniques for Increasing the Child's Language Base

Language learning in the child is an active, ongoing process that begins with the birth cry and continues throughout life. There are specific techniques that the parent can use to facilitate this learning. Four techniques recommended by Speech-Language Pathologists are: self talking, parallel talking, modeling and expansion.

Self Talking and Parallel Talking

Self talking occurs when parents talk to the child about what they are doing, such as "I am drinking". Parallel talking occurs when the parent talks to the child about what the child is doing, such as "You are drinking". To be effective, these precursers to turn-taking need to be simple and descriptive of the action taking place.

Modeling and Expansion

Once turn-taking has started to develop, the techniques of modeling can be used. In modeling the parent provides the child with the desired response during an activity. This response that is demonstrated may be nonverbal or verbal. In a nonverbal turn-taking activity the model demonstrated may take the form of showing a gestured response such as waving bye-bye. In a verbal interaction the parent supplies the words to be used by the child such as saying "Who wants a cookie? I do!" where "I do," is the model. It is important to understand that following the parent's model the child is expected, but not required to respond.

Another useful technique within the turn-taking routine is expansion. In expansion the parent repeats what the child is communicating by actions or words - and adds other actions or words to make the message more complete. As the child's language base increases the parent's expansions will also increase and become more complex.

Summary

The specific techniques outlined in this paper have emphasized that language learning for the child is a cooperative process involving interaction with the parent. In the birth to three year old child this interactive relationship is all-important in providing a facilitating learning environment. When parents remember that they can change the child's language by changing how they respond to the child's communicative attempts they become successful teachers.

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The Black Female Single Parent

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Because of the growing number of single parent families among the black population, much information is being focused on this particular minority. The Black Single Parent Family is composed of several groups of women, including those never married, divorced, seperated, widowed, and women who's husbands are temporarily absent (Rose Rodgers 1983).

According to (Habenstein, Mindel, 1983), 45 percent of black families are households headed by women. Within the idea of fair share, it does not seem fair to expect black mothers (especially those employed) to have the double responsibility of working and raising a family. However, the black community has to depend on them to perform these two full time jobs. In households that are made up of two spouses, the working black female frequently means moving the family into middle class status (Claudia Tate, 1984). In contrast to families where the black woman is the only person working, the family's existence depends on her income. Irregardless of how one views the black woman, she is an important element in determining whether many black children are poverty stricken or achieve economic stability.

Black women in general are faced with hardships that are very different from other groups of women. Not only are they faced with providing a future for themselves and their children, they are the wrong color and are a minority in a society that is patriarchal in its orientation. Black women have also been characterized as dominating, and castrating women. According to Rodgers (1980), no other group of women in our society has this distinct classification.

For the survival of the family, roles within the black family have always been more flexible and open than those of the mainstream families (whites). Black women have often had to share some of the traditionally designated male roles just as the black male has had to share some of the female roles (Rodgers, 1980). The adaptability of the black woman in assuming the role of provider when necessary has been a positive factor in the black family (Rodgers, 1980). With the high rate of unemployment and underemployment, coupled with the shorter life expectancy of black men, it seems logical that the woman has had to take on the key leadership role in the family in many situations. In female headed households, the assumption has been that most of these families are dependent upon welfare or some other source of support. However, the data reveals that three-fifths of these women work, most of them full time (Rodgers, 1980).

Although many black women work, they are still discriminated against in the work place and their salaries are not equal to that of men. According to Rodgers (1980), the median income for female headed households is about one half the amount of male households ($10,830 compared to $18,775). When the racial factor is considered it is found that the median income for black females is $7,693 compared to $13,635 for black men.

The idea of black single women taking on key leadership roles and responsibilities in the family is nothing new, but is rather a part of her African heritage. In Africa, women were more than just mothers. The women were instrumental in the economic market place. She controlled certain industries, the making and selling of cloth, pottery, spinning and sales of goods of different kinds, in addition to raising food for her family (Rodgers, 1980). Although, she was a wife, this role was made somewhat easier because the husband often had more than one wife and her responsibilities and duties to him were shared and performed on a rotating basis. For the most part, African women have always lived independently (Rodgers, 1980).

When one compares the statistics of black female headed households, to white female headed households, the differences are significant. While white families had a woman head in 13% of its families, black heads of households represent 45% of those figures. The large number of female headed households is mostly a result of socioeconomic factors. As the level of income rises, so does the number of male headed households (Habenstein, Mindel, 1983).

The problems facing the black single parent family does not differ greatly from the problem facing blacks as a whole. Both are faced with socioeconomic conditions that disrupt family life and in general, they both face poverty and racism. However, this group of women will have less income than any other group in America (Habenstein, Mindel, 1983). Nevertheless, these problems are not currently being addressed. There needs to be legislation and policies set fourth to address these needs and develop programs that can help these women become more marketable in the labor market. But if policies and legislation are proposed to help them, it will be of little effect if other supportive

services such as daycare facilities are not viewed as essential, for daycare facilities, especially in the black community are not adequate (Habenstein, Mindel 1983). Even beyond these identified problems, if black women are continuously discriminated against and treated as unequal in the employment sector and salary differentiation continues, these discriminating forces will deter this group, while making their struggle nearly impossible.

Since we know that the black female single headed household has been increasing over the last twenty years and she faces many problems, why have these problems not been addressed? For example, black single parent families have increased from 950,000 in 1960 to 2,634,000 in 1980 (from 22% to 42%) according to Habenstein and Mindel, (1983).

One explanation may be found in Melvin Seeman's (1950) article, On The Meaning of Alienation. In this article Seeman introduces the theory of alienation and the variable of powerlessness of different class groups within a given society. Seeman states that powerlessness refers to the idea that the worker is alienated to the extent that prerogative and means of decision are expropriated by the ruling entrepreneurs (Seeman, 1959, p. 783).

This theory may have some relevance to the black population as a whole and black women specifically when one looks at our society with reference to who makes decisions concerning their lives. Most decisions concerning the welfare of American citizens are made through the political arena and by men. When one looks at the representation of black women in politics, we can see that their representation trails below that of black men. For example, in 1975, there was a total of 4,033 black elected officials, 3,503 (84.9%) were black men and 530 (13.1%) were black women (Rodgers, 1980). One does not need to compare the overall number of elected officials to that of the black woman to see exactly how powerless she really is in making decisions concerning her life and that of others. Of the 530 black female elected officials 214 of them were in the area of education. To further illustrate the level of power and decision making in the area of politics for black women, out of 18 House of Representatives, only four are female (Rodgers, 1980). Although black women are involved in politics, their representation is not equal to that of men.

When one views the increases in the number of female headed households, the assumption is that quite often, the increase is due to the breakup of already existing relationships. This is not true. The data reveals that the greatest change has come about in the single never married category of black women, where the percentage has gone from 12% in 1960 to 20% in 1973 (Rodgers, 1980).

We do know that a large number of single female headed households include children. In 1974, 70 percent of all such households included children (Rodgers, 1980). The increasing number of black single women who have never been married is a factor that will probably involve more study in the future, but it is an aspect of the black family that may lead one to question, why this break in societal norms and values. We know that the traditional American way of beginning a family is the uniting of two individuals (male and female) through legal and religious ceremonies. However, the increasing number of never married black single women does not reflect this tradition. This aspect of the black single woman may have some meaning also in the alienation theory, in relationship to this variable of normlessness. Seeman (1959), refers to this variable as situations in which norms regulating individual conduct have broken down or are no longer effective as rules for behavior. Seeman further quotes Kate Smith in stating that:

> "The emphasis on the theme "anomie" (normlessness) reflects a social disorder. Anomie is the sociological term in which common values have been submerged in the welter of private interest, seeking satisfaction by virtually any means which are effective. Drawn from a highly competitive segmented urban society, our informants live in a climate of reciprocal distrust, which to say the least is not conducive to stable relationships. The very same society that produces this sense of alienation and estrangement, generates in many a craving for reassurance (Seeman, 1959, p. 787).

In view of the large numbers of black single female heads of households, there does appear to be some identity in the behavior that is described in the alienation theory. It could be that institutionalized racism and discrimination have been contributing factors to this group of women breaking the norms and values of American Society.

For example, we do know that there is a direct relationship to income and two parent families. According to Rose Rodgers (1980), the higher the family income, the higher the percentage of children living with both parents. For families with incomes under $15,000, only 18 percent of the children live with both parents. For incomes over $15,000, 90 % of all black children live with both parents. Black men whose incomes are below the poverty level, are also most likely to remain unmarried, while college educated black men have the highest chance of being married (Rodgers, 1980). If we look at the two groups one can see that the low income black male and low income black female are the two most unlikely candidates for marriage. However, the black female may obviously

make the decision to start a family without the sanction of society and bypass the traditional institution of marriage. A relationship to the theory of alienation (normlessness) may be further identified to the breakdown in societal norms and values for this group because the low income black male and female have no economic stability in marriage.

If the low income black female decides to have children, (by breaking the rules) she will at least become eligible for public assistance. However, society does not make the same provisions for the economically disadvantaged male, who wants to start a family. It may be that these groups have settled for non-traditional families in order to find fulfillment in a society that does not meet their needs.

With nearly half of all black families being headed by women, who have few resources, does not paint a pretty picture for the future survival of these families. It certainly implies continued poverty for them unless additional resources and services are developed to meet their needs.

After looking at the variables that affect the lives of blacks in general and black female single parents specifically, it is recommended that the following areas be addressed:

a. Work to increase the number of black female elected officials in the political arena.

b. Continue to fight for economic stability for minorities.

c. Conduct additional studies in the area of single never married heads of households.

d. Gather additional data on single parent families and conduct needs assessments to further determine the actual strengths and weaknesses of these families, in an effort to determine what additional supportive services are needed.

In view of these facts, those of us in social service fields can be most helpful, if we begin gathering data and assessing what the needs of these families reflect. The information should then be presented to decision makers in an effort to convince them of the uncertain future that single parent women will face, if more programs are not designed to meet their unique needs.

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III. Black Family and Pregnancy

The Pregnant Teenager: A National Catastrophe*

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Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary defines "catastrophe" as "The final event of a dramatic action, especially of a tragedy". Unfortunately, the teenage pregnancy is not the final event but often the beginning of a sequence of tragic events which will affect the lives of the mother and the infant. At present, two of every three first born black children are born to single women and over one-half of all black children are born to single mothers. If these statistics are not bleak enough, seventy percent of black chidren under the age of 18 in single parent homes will be brought up in poverty — homes where the median income is $7,999 per year (Norton, 1985).

The problem of teenage pregnancies is not isolated to the black community — in the population of females under 20 years of age, there are 1 million pregnancies a year with 560,000 giving birth, 330,000 having abortions, and the remainder being spontaneously aborted (Elster & McAnarney, 1980). However, the rates in the black community are alarming when compared to the white community. For blacks the rate is 163 per 1000 teens while for whites the rate is half, 83 per 1000 teens, and the percentage of unmarried women who have experienced sexual intercourse as seen in Table 1 reflects that two-fold difference. Even more disturbing are the data on births in the lower age categories as shown in Table 2.

Table 1
Percentage of Unmarried Women Having Experienced Sexual Intercourse by Age and Race*

Age	Race	
	Black	White
15	38.4%	13.8%
16	52.6%	22.6%
17	68.4%	36.1%
18	74.1%	43.6%
19	83.6%	48.7%

* 1978 (from Baldwin, 1981)

Table 2
Teenage Birth Rates (per 1000) by Age and Race — 1978

Age	White	Nonwhite*	Ratio Nonwhite/White
14	3.9	18.5	4.7:1
15	11.8	44.1	3.7:1
16	25.1	72.5	2.9:1
17	42.6	103.5	2.4:1
18	61.5	128.5	2.1:1
19	77.6	143.5	1.8:1

* 92% of Nonwhite births are to blacks (from Baldwin, 1981)

The earlier a girl begins having intercourse, the earlier the pregnancy occurs, with approximately half of teenage pregnancies occuring in the first six months of sexual activity (Zabin, Kantner & Zelnik, 1979). A study done in a Rochester, New York, urban neighborhood health center using a professionally administered questionnaire bore this out. Of 799 black females questioned, the average age of menarche, or the onset of menses, was 12.5 years. The authors termed the initiation of sexual intercourse sexarche; the average age being 14.7 years, with the first pregnancy at 16 years on the average (Sehaff & Roghmann, 1985). Even more distressing are the statistics for second pregnancies to black teens aged 15 to 19 years, — 19.6% will be pregnant within 12 months following the outcome of the first pregnancy and 32.1% will be pregnant within 18 months. Interestingly, for teenagers who marry while pregnant, half will be pregnant again within 24 months; for those who remain single less than one-third will get pregnant within 24 months of the first delivery (Koenig & Zelnik, 1982).

At all ages, infant mortality is higher for nonwhites than whites but consequences for infants born to teenage mothers is even more pronounced; perinatal deaths (less than 28 days and stillbirths) increase with decreasing maternal age (Grazi, Redheendren, Mudaliar, & Bannerman, 1982).

The incidence of low birth weight and prematurity has been well-documented in teenage mothers

along with a higher frequency of congenital malformations in infants born to teenagers. Other studies suggest that infants born to women less than 16 years of age are at the same risk of having a child with Down's Syndrome as the greater than 35 year old group (Grazi, Redheendren, Mudaliar & Bannerman, 1982).

Maternal-infant bonding in the teenage mother-infant relationship is often delayed due to the fact that premature and sick infants go to the intensive care nursery. Klaus (1970), in his work on maternal-infant bonding, found that premature babies are at greater risk for abuse and neglect. Additionally, studies of healthy babies have found that older mothers spend more time talking to and looking at their infants. In contrast, teenage mothers have been noted to be less vocal and engage in less face to face activity with their infants than older mothers (Sandler 1979; Field, 1980). While there is no data to support the belief that teenagers are more likely to abuse their children, studies have shown that mothers who gave birth as teenagers are more frequent abusers (Kinard & Klerman, 1980).

Perhaps the most lasting effects of being born to a teenager are those of intellectual functioning and school performances. The impact of low birth weight and prematurity carry over to the school years. Children of low birth weight have been noted to have attention deficit disorders at a greater rate than controls and institutionalized mentally retarded children have been found to have a significant history of prematurity (Robinson & Robinson, 1965; Katz & Taylor, 1967). In addition to the severely impaired, children who are born to mothers under 17 years of age have been shown to have school problems when evaluated at age 6 and age 12 and they are at a greater risk to repeat a grade than children born to older mothers (Kellan, 1979 Merrit, Lawrence & Naeye, 1980).

Teenagers who give birth are not without risks to their own health. Pregnant teenagers are more likely to develop pregnancy-induced hypertension which is associated with pre-eclampsia or toxemia of pregnancy, intrauterine growth retardation, placental disorders, prematurity, and increased perinatal morbidity and mortality. In the very young adolescent, there is the greater chance of cephalopelvic disproportion, or the baby's head being too large to pass through the pelvis of a still growing female. This leads to fetal distress and often the need for delivery by Cesarean-section.

Disruption of education is often a consequence of teenage pregnancy and there is a direct correlation between the age at birth of the first child and the number of years of schooling completed not only for the teenage mother but also the father. Card and Wise (1970) found that 50 percent of adolescent mothers and 70 percent of adolescent fathers completed high school as compared with 97 percent of females and 96 percent of males who had not had children by age 24. Continuance of schooling has been shown to have a direct link with the avoidance of subsequent pregnancies and the use of contraceptives (Klenman & Jekel, 1973).

Although most black teenagers do not marry at the time of the first pregnancy, if and when marriage occurs, it has a high probability of separation and divorce. More often than not, the teenage mother must depend on public assistance. Teenage mothers are a disproportionate share of welfare recipients — almost three-fourths of the AFDC recipients under the age of 30 had their first child when they were teenagers. Overall, women who become pregnant as teenagers have larger completed families, higher separation and divorce rates, less income and are more likely to live in poverty and require public assistance than women who postpone childbearing (Moore & Wertheimer 1984).

As if these problems were not enough for the teenage mother and her offspring, 35% of black females will have a second pregnancy during the teenage years and that child is at an even greater risk for prematurity and perinatal death than the first child (Zelnik, 1980). Thus it is imperative that we outline directions and implement programs which will address not only teenage pregnancy but its sequelae and the devastating effect it is having on the black community.

Are There Solutions?

Teen pregnancy is a very complex, complicated issue which has attracted much needed concern and interest. At various levels, investigative efforts and involvement have been developed to address this escalating problem. Initially, programs utilized an ameliorative format (secondary prevention care services) to address teen pregnancy in which efforts to alleviate the negative consequences of pregnancy for the adolescent parent and offspring were the primary focus. More recently, programs have attempted to incorporate and provide both preventive and ameliorative services. Although more comprehensive in the approach, the operational efforts have remained fragmented. The services rendered created a vacuum effect or a controlled environment, which was greatly altered or modified from that of the adolescent's true surrounding existence. The adolescent's knowledge, attitude and behavior are influenced greatly by developmental factors, societal norms and familial/peer influences. There is an association of the etiology of a teenager's risk for an unwanted pregnancy and the above influential factors. Although an autonomous potential exists for each, an influential sense of balance usually emerges. (Fig. 1)

Figure 1
Influences On Adolescents Risk For Pregnancy

Influential Areas			Outcome
Social		Knowledge	
		Information = decision	1) non-preg-
family		making	nant status
peers			
church	**Adolescent**		
media			
	female		
Educational	male	Attitude	2) pregnant
		cognitive-emotional	status
schools		development	
Health-Medical		Behavior	a) no repeat
		sexual identity	
		adaptive sexual behavior	
		(sexual responsibility)	b) repeat

Present programs' effectiveness have been offset by the lack of significant incorporation of these factors into an operational format. Therefore, the proposed solution to teenage pregnancy is a multi-faceted or a dual (preventive/ameliorative) approach whose operational format incorporates and utilizes those major areas of influence which would yield a productive, efficient, and effective program.

Preventive and ameliorative services have been provided in extant programs through utilizing the pathology approach or the normalcy approach in addressing teen pregnancy. The pathology oriented programs are directed to address adolescents' sexual behavior as pathological or deviant with most medical and social programs for teenagers having been based on this orientation. This fails to acknowledge that early sexual activity is, if not accepted, at least not condoned in the black community. The less successful programs have included family planning clinics for black adolescent women, services for pregnant teenagers, and efforts that target allegedly high-risk teenagers. Their approaches to sex education have had no effect. The pathology approach to contraception and abortion have but marginally altered teenagers' delivery rate.

In contrast, the normalcy directed programs view the teenager's risk of pregnancy as a convergence of factors that are normal to the lives of many adolescents. This approach may be in one of three ways:

1) values clarification or the discussion and resolution of value conflicts

2) relevant content which is balancing knowledge and interests, *and*

3) male involvement and equilibration of contraceptive responsibilities

While many schools and religious programs have utilized various aspects of this approach, the normalcy oriented programs impact on teen pregnancy has remained minimal. This approach may be more effective if incorporated into a larger, more organized and disseminated system.

Two promising approaches are institutional programs and cognitive-behavioral methods of prevention. The institutional approach utilizes sectors of the community that deal with adolescent welfare, growth and development (social, educational, medical) to address adolescent pregnancy. Joining and organizing forces eliminates the vacuum effect of separate programs functioning autonomously and creates a more viable frame from which to produce efficient, effective programs.

In the institutional programs, all areas of influence will be tapped and incorporated into the operational framework:

Figure 2
Programs Efforts and Adolescent Pregnancy

Programs	Influential Areas of Involvement			Adolescent (primarily involved)		Effectiveness on Adolescent Pregnancy
	Social*	Educational	Health-Medical	Female	Male	
Extant						
Pathology Approach	–	–	+	+	–/+	Variable
Normalcy Approach	+	+	+	+	+	Too few
New Directions						
Institutional	+/–	+	+	+	+	Perceived to be very effective
Cognitive-Behavioral Method	+	+	+	+	+	* *

* *Social refers to family, peers, church, media.*

The cognitive-behavioral methods could be employed within or outside of institutions. Because many susceptible teens lack self-esteem, the approach would work toward improving interpersonal skills. The focus is on both information input and behavioral-change output while addressing the cognitive processes mediating the understanding and use of information in decision-making. Teenagers' inability to anticipate and solve sexual problems are due to their cognitive deficits. The role of cognition is important — adolescents are expected to make a decision about contraceptive use at a time when they are sexually undifferentiated and unprepared for such analytical thinking. Likewise, the lack of interpersonal skills appears to result in the poor use of contraceptives, even when knowledge of birth control is adequate. This orientation in concert with the institutional approach would provide the most viable

vehicle to effectively address adolescent pregnancy.

"To say that there are greater risks for children born of adolescent mothers does not mean, of course, that all such births will lead to problems, any more than to say that delaying a birth until the twenties will guarantee that child a splendid life. We can say that the risk of negative outcomes for the pregnancy, the birth, or the child's development are higher the younger the mother. Postponing a birth until a woman is in her twenties offers noticeably decreased risks in all respects." (Baldwin, 1977, p. 2)

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A Study of Black Urban Families During Pregnancy in a Medical Setting

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Background

Prematurity is a major health problem in the United States. It constitutes the largest preventable cause of infant mortality in this country. Cleveland has one of the highest prematurity and infant mortality rates in the U.S. (Avery & Wise, 1983). Rates across the United States are higher for black women and are especially high for poor black women. Efforts to prevent prematurity will be most effective when we are able to identify women at high risk who can then receive special services designed to reduce their risks (Institute of Medicine, 1985).

Family Medicine is based on a philosophy that an individual's health is influenced not only by biological agents, but also by relationships between that person and others, particularly family members. Illnesses have multiple causes and these causes come from various sources, not just from within the individual patient. The patient's family and community may either help prevent or contribute to a health problem. This viewpoint is particularly applicable for the pregnant women. Most medical research into prematurity has focused primarily on the woman herself, and has not looked at her close associates. Many conditions can place a woman at high risk for prematurity. These include diabetes mellitus, chronic high blood pressure, short stature, young age, smoking, and excessive alcohol intake (Frederick & Anderson, 1976; Gravett, 1984). The study to be reported upon here asks the research question, "Does a woman's family or her close friends influence her pregnancy?"

Study Design

This study was conducted between May of 1982 and August of 1983 in a private group practice in the Family Practice Center of University Hospitals of Cleveland. The patient population is racially integrated and socioeconomically diverse. The same physician provides care to women during their pregnancy, attends the birth of their baby, and continues caring for the woman, her baby, and her family after birth. Since most pregnant women in the practice are black, this study included only pregnant black women. One hundred and forty-six women were invited to participate. One hundred and forty enrolled for a 96% participation rate. Participants were interviewed at their seventh month of pregnancy by black female interviewers, and the results of this interview were compared with the outcomes of the woman's pregnancy, including the birth weight or status of her baby at birth.

The average age of all the women was 24.1 years. Eighteen percent were 14 to 19 years old and 6% were 35 and older. This is similar to the age of all United States pregnant women (Institute of Medicine, 1985). For about 25% this was their first pregnancy. The majority were from families in the working and lower class.

Results

Research results will be discussed in four sections: 1) The definition of family, 2) The importance of anticipated support for child rearing, 3) Nutritional patterns, and 4) The relationship of biological, psychological and social factors to pregnancy outcome.

Definition of Family *(Dr. Kitson).* In this study of black pregnant women, one concern was to learn how women define family and how they receive help and support from their families during pregnancy. Some families include the father of the baby and some do not. Among those who do not, other relatives might be included as family and sometimes they are not. The concern about how pregnant women define their families is important because expectant mothers should feel good about themselves and feel they can rely on others. It is better for the mother and, we think, for the unborn baby, if the mother has someone to depend on during her pregnancy.

In order to learn what is the best way to describe a family, we asked two questions: 1) "Who lives with you," and 2) "Please tell me the names of the people you think of as close fami1y." These two questions produced different answers. About half of the women said they lived with the father of the baby, but four out of ten of those who live with the father of the baby did not consider him a member of the family, instead they mentioned their parents or others of that generation as family. Thus, as Carol Stack (1974) had found among some blacks, family was more important than male-female relationships for certain kinds of help and support, especially around the care of children.

With half of the women living with the father of the baby, the remainder, 29% lived with their parents, and 21% lived alone or with their own small children. For those women not living with the father of the baby, 80% were in some contact with him and 20% said they did not see him at all. Only 29% of the women live with their parents, but over half say that family is their parents. So, many young women still think in terms of their kin when thinking of family.

For the ten women in the study who live alone, eight mentioned their parents or others of that generation as family and the remainder mentioned kin of their own generation or friends as family. No one said they were without some type of support. These data indicated that who pregnant women think of as family is not necessarily the same as with whom they report living.

The question is how useful is this sense of family? Can it be counted upon? Does it tell us different things than asking with whom a person lives? Describing young, pregnant women in terms of their demographic characteristics, such as their age, level of education, income, and the number of babies they have had, can be done better and more accurately by asking who lives in their household. This is why the U.S. Census uses this approach to provide a portrait of characteristics of the population (Glick, 1981). This method, however, also shows more people living alone with the suggestion of no support.

What demographic studies do not describe is how people get along with others and to whom they turn for help. To assess such issues it is more important to ask, "Who do you consider family" than "Who do you live with?" In our study, the more people a woman considered to be a part of her family, the less likely she was to be anxious, angry, or to have physical complaints. She also was less worried about possible changes in her household after the baby is born, and felt that her own needs were better met in childhood. Thus, an important issue for the social and psychological health of black, pregnant women is if they consider themselves to be part of an extended family that they feel good about, whether they actually live with someone else or alone. Even those who live alone may not necessarily be so isolated as the U.S. Census method of counting people would lead one to think.

In summary, then, who a pregnant woman lives with and who she considers family, provide different pieces of information. It is not exactly misleading to patients or clients, to ask "Who lives with you?" but it is only a part of the picture. If the additional question of who do you consider to be part of your family is asked, more information about how well supported and how a pregnant woman feels psychologically may be elicited by also asking whom she considers to be part of her family.

Anticipated Support for Child Rearing *(A. Graham).* As Dr. Kitson discussed, families vary but are an important source of support to pregnant women. Next we are going to discuss who pregnant women plan to have help them raise their unborn babies and whether they feel this support can be successfully provided by different family members. Even though families may vary in size and composition, one of their main tasks is to raise the newborn child.

Over the last decade, the number of low income, black families, headed by single females has increased greatly (Lindblad-Goldberg & Dukes, 1985). A concern exists about whether one parent families can obtain the necessary support to meet the challenge of pregnancy and child rearing. Pregnant woman who are socially isolated are at increased risk for pregnancy complications and infant morbidity (Royer & Darth, 1984). The presence of a kin network has been suggested as an important factor in providing support for the single, black mother. Our research explored the question of whether other relatives could substitute for the father of the baby in providing support during pregnancy and expected child rearing help.

During the seventh month of pregnancy we asked women in our study who they planned to have help them raise their expected baby. The person they named we refer to as the parenting partner.

We found that almost all of the women, 94%, said they planned to have someone to help them raise their child. The largest number of women (49%) said the father of the baby would be the parenting partner, 25% named their own mother, and 20% said the parenting partner would be someone else, like a sister, an aunt, a grandmother or friend. Thus, about half the women planned to share the parenting responsibility with the father of the baby while a slightly smaller amount planned to use a member of the extended kinship network, i.e., mother, sister, aunt, grandmother, etc. Only six percent of the women indicated that no one would be sharing the responsibility of raising the unborn child.

In comparing the background information about the women who picked the father of the baby or another person to be the parenting partner, we found that the younger group of pregnant women (those under 19

years of age), tended to name their own mothers as the parenting partners. In addition, women having their first baby, which also puts them into the younger group, often named their own mother to help with the care of the child. Women with a lot of contact with the father of the baby (either being married or living together) tended to name the father of the baby as the parenting partner.

We then looked at whether there was a difference psychologically or emotionally between the women who named the father of the baby, another relative, or no one to be the parenting partner. First, we found that women who had no one were substantially more depressed and somewhat more anxious than all the other women who named someone to be their parenting partner. Thus, the women who planned to use the father of the baby or some other member of the kinship network were all about equal in their level of depression and anxiety, but clearly different from the women who had no parenting partner.

Second, we found the same results when we compared how the pregnant women viewed their families in relationship to whom the parenting partner would be. We found that the women who did not have a parenting partner, rated their families as being less supportive and caring and, in general, had less good feelings about their families. However, women who planned to have the father of the baby or another member of the kinship network share the parenting job, all viewed their families very similarly. They rated their families as being more supportive, caring, and in general, had better feelings about them than women who were facing parenting alone.

These two findings, the psychological status of the women, that is, their level of depression and anxiety, and how they rate the general good feelings they have about their families regardless of who in that family is going to help them raise their child, appears to support the idea that the kinship network works well for pregnant black women. In other words, we did not find that women who are going to use their own mothers or another member of their kinship network were more depressed or anxious or had less good feeling about their families, than the women who were going to raise their children with the help of the father of the baby. Now that we had established the frequency of the parenting partner (94%) and that it could be the baby's father or another relative, we wondered about the quality of the relationship between the pregnant woman and the parenting partner. Is it sufficient just to have a parenting partner or is it important to feel comfortable with the parenting partner and to be satisfied with caring and other things, like money, that the parenting partner may be able to provide? As would be expected, we found that women who felt comfortable and satisfied with their relationship with the parenting partner were again less depressed, less anxious, and rated their families as generally doing better than those women who felt they did not have as good a relationship with their parenting partners, regardless of who the parenting partner was. However, we did find that those women who were planning on using their own mothers as the parenting partner and who did not feel comfortable or satisfied with the relationship with their mothers, rated their families as doing the worst. They had the least amount of good feelings about their families, even more so than women who had no parenting partner or who were going to use the father of the baby as the parenting partner and had a poor relationship with him. Again, this finding supports the importance of the extended family, or kin network, especially the role of the mother for black, pregnant women. The pregnant woman looks to her mother for a supportive relationship and, if she feels it is not available, the pregnant woman does not view her family very favorably.

The final point relates to how the different parenting combinations affect the pregnancy outcome. We found that women who named either the father of the baby or their own mothers as the expected parenting partner, had an 11% chance of having a low birth weight infant, while women who named no one or some other member of the kinship network had a 24% chance of having a low birth weight baby. These results again point out the importance of the mother in the kinship network and suggest that others play a less important role in pregnancy outcomes.

In summary, we found that:

1. Most women had picked out a parenting partner.

2. About half of the women planned to use the father of the baby as the parenting partner while the other half planned to use a member of the kinship network.

3. Women are less depressed and less anxious in pregnancy if they plan to have a parenting partner regardless of who it is.

4. Women generally have better feelings about their family if they have a planned parenting partner again regardless of who it is.

5. If a women has a poor relationship with her mother and plans to use the mother as the parenting partner, she has the most negative view of her family.

6. Women who plan to have the father of the baby or their own mothers be the parenting partner have an 11% chance of having a low birth weight infant, while women who plan to have no one or to use another member of the kinship network have a 24% chance of having a low birth weight infant.

Dietary Patterns *(M.A. Weber).* The purpose of this part of the study was to gather descriptive information on dietary intake and relate it to pregnancy outcome among urban black women. Little information is available on this topic. The protein level was evaluated to see if it could be used as an index to diet quality and as a predictor of vitamin and mineral intake. The impact of prescribed and over-the-counter prenatal vitamins and mineral supplements on nutritional intakes were also evaluated in relationship to the recommended dietary allowances. Seventy percent of the women in this study were receiving some form of food supplement assistance throughout the study, either Women, Infants and Children (WIC) or Food Stamps. Physicians used their own judgment in prescribing prenatal vitamins and mineral supplements and explaining their use to the study participants.

Dietary information was collected by a trained interviewer using a modified diet history questionnaire after the methods of Berke and Beal (1943). The dietary interviewing included asking each women to give a typical day's intake of food and then to respond to a list of foods, giving the amount and frequency of consumption of each food item. Careful attention was paid to the method of preparation of foods to establish the fat in foods and to provide more accurate calorie values. The amount of food consumed was quantified by using standardized food models, measuring cups, spoons and representative samples of cups and bowls of varying sizes. Dietary intake data was calculated for nutrient content using the Highland View Hospital-CWRU Nutrient Data Base, computerized food table which gives the nutritional composition of foods stuffs by types and often by brand name. The Nutrient Data base provides a description of each individual's dietary intake which is then compared to the recommended dietary allowances for pregnant women. In interpreting dietary intake data, it is customary to use 67% of the RDA, or one standard deviation above the mean, as an adequate intake for a nutrient. Therefore, we have used this as a cut-off to evaluate specific nutrients. The RDA for protein is set at .8 grams per kilogram of weight plus 30 grams for pregnancy. The RDA for calories is set at actual need for energy with a 300 calories per day additional allowance for pregnancy. Thus, the sample of women studied are generally a well nourished group. The mean calorie intake is 2900 with a range of 1057 to 5339 calories. This compares to RDA for pregnant women at 2400 calories. The mean daily protein intake is 100 grams with a range of 38 to 196 grams. The RDA for pregnancy is approximately 75 grams depending upon the body size of the women. Thirteen percent of the population did not meet this standard recommendations for protein. Alcohol consumption was 1 gram of alcohol per day and the range was from 0 to 28 grams. As is recommended during pregnancy, most subjects consumed no alcohol. A few women reported consuming the equivalent of 1 to 2 drinks a day, and only three reported 3 or more drinks per day.

Nutrient intake for vitamin C, thiamin, riboflavin, niacin, B12 and A were excellent, most of these being above the 67% of the RDA for all women. Of particular interest were the values of iron, calcium, vitamin D, zinc, and folic acid. Forty-eight percent of the women reported taking low amounts of vitamin D, whereas only 20% reported low amounts of calcium. This is an unusual pattern because calcium is usually obtained by drinking milk which also has vitamin D added. This apparent discrepancy points out differences in food choices within this population. This population consumes a fairly low amount of fluid milk, possibly because of a lactose problem or possibly because of cultural food patterns and therefore, they do not get vitamin D. But they are meeting their calcium needs through cheese and vegetables such as greens, that contain calcium but are not fortified with D. This high level of calcium intake over a lifetime could be one of the reasons blacks have less osteoporosis. This also means that it is important to supplement with vitamin D. Zinc intake was 12mg, or 60% of the RDA, which means the women failed to meet the standard for this nutrient. In addition, zinc is not included in most prenatal vitamins. This finding may indicate a need for supplementation and at the least the need to see that zinc is included in particular vitamin supplements being recommended. Folic acid, which is needed for red blood cell synthesis, was another nutrient for which many of the women have a low intake, again pointing out the need for supplementation of this particular nutrient. The mean intake of total vitamin D and ascorbic acid was quite high. Only 20% of the mothers failed to meet 100% of the RDA for vitamin A and, in fact, some people consumed what would be considered excess amounts. The food and nutrition Board cautions against daily intakes of more than 25,000 International Units (IUs). Three women achieved intakes of greater than 25,000 IUs of preformed vitamin A through diet alone. With supplementation, the number increased to 14 mothers or 10% of the sample. In some, intakes of preformed vitamin A approached 45,000 IUs. High doses of vitamin A has been associated with growth retardation in children and congenital abnormalities in rats. The American Academy of Pediatric sites the potential hazards to pregnant women and fetases with doses of 25,000 IUs or more. The clinical symptoms of hypervitamintosis A have been generally resultant from doses well in excess of 25,000 IUs; however, the effect of chronic intake in this range during pregnancy are unknown. We did try to compare the zinc and vitamin A intake of mothers to outcome of the infants and found no correlation to either birth weight or family functioning. Whether there is absolutely no correlation between these problems or whether we are not measuring the

right thing is unknown. But, it does point to the need to be more thoughtful about what vitamins are being prescribed.

We then looked at the nutritional status and relationship to birth weight. Six diet classifications were developed based on protein intake. Group 1 was highest, and Group 6 the poorest. When we compared the protein intakes to the mean birth weight of the group we found that Groups 1 to 5 had vary similar birth weights (3000 to 3300gms). The group who had consumed less than 50 grams of protein per day had a mean birth weight of 2500gms. This does correspond to what the classic studies on maternal nutrition have shown, that is that a poor diet is associated with lower birth weights. The sample size is so small, given our total number in the study, that we cannot draw any kind of statistical validation of the differences.

Some of the other interesting findings of the study included the following. The food types that people reported eating generally consisted of several fruits a day, a large volume of fruit juices and also fruit drinks and Kool Aide, sometimes one to two quarts per day. Often cheese was a daily dietary component which contributed to the calcium intake. In addition to meat, vegetables were consumed on a daily basis. Only two persons reported eating non-food items and both ate starch. Forty-three percent of subjects reported getting up at night frequently to consume something caloric, ranging from a glass of milk to a bologna sandwich. Six got up to eat something on a nightly basis, and the rest reported arising one to four times a week. Sixty percent reported they had changed their diet during pregnancy and about 2/3 of these people, or 49% overall, reported that they had made these changes for health reasons. "It is better for me and the baby" or "My doctor told me I shou1d." About 3/4 of the population reported cravings during their pregnancy and the most frequently reported cravings were for fruit, spaghetti, pizza, and fish.

In summary, there are several findings with clinical importance. It appears that this study population is generally well nourished and that calcium intakes are generally good and may possibly contribute to the low incidence of osteoporosis in black women following menopause. The vitamin D intake is very low and this should be supplemented both during pregnancy and then following pregnancy if women choose to breast feed. The zinc intake could be a potential problem and should be covered by vitamin supplementation. It appears that pregnancy may be a good time to provide nutritional counseling.

The Relationship of Biopsychosocial Factors to Pregnancy Outcome *(Dr. Reeb).* We explored possible relationships which the woman's psychological state and her family functioning might have with problems during her labor and delivery or with her baby's birth weight. Women were questioned about their psychological symptoms, including anxiety, depression, obsessive thoughts and behaviors, hostility, and somatization. Women with high-anxiety scores did not have a greater risk of delivering a low birth weight infant, but women with high-depression scores were more likely to have small infants. Regarding stress and stressful-life events; those women who had one or more such events during pregnancy were more likely to deliver a low birth weight infant than those women who did not report any stresses. We asked women about their worries, in the belief that worries represent anticipation of stress. Women who were worried about changes in their lives after their baby was born were significantly more likely to have a low birth weight infant.

In regard to the pregnant woman's relationship with other people, women who had less emotional support based on having close people in whom they could confide, were more likely to have low birth weight infants. A similar relationship was found between instrumental support such as financial support, and help with babysitting or shopping. Those women with lower instrumental support were also more likely to give birth to low birth weight infants.

In regard to the women's family history, even going back to her childhood, those women who felt they didn't get enough support or love from their families as children were more likely to have complications when giving birth to their baby. Another important issue about the woman's family was the relationship between her perception of how well her family functions, and the size of her baby. Those women who felt their family did not get along well together and that family members didn't help one another, were much more likely to deliver a low birth weight infant.

In summary, our results do tend to confirm our suspicions:

(1) Many factors contribute to prematurity and to other problems of pregnancy.

(2) The contributing factors extend beyond medical problems of the woman and her habits and even beyond her own psychological state.

(3) The factors extend back to the woman's childhood. They also include her current relationships with other people, the amount of stress she is under, her worries, the support she receives from people close to her, and on how well her family gets along together.

Conclusion

The findings reported illustrate how complicated and multifaceted the issues are that affect a pregnant woman and the birth of her baby. The findings come from a group of women enrolled in a private practice, not a hospital clinic, that emphasizes continuity of care and an integrated approach to the delivery of care. The women who choose such care may differ from those who do not. To explore such a possible difference we are retesting these findings currently with a larger study in a clinic setting. As a result of our studies we hope to develop a practical method for identifying women who are having problems in some of these areas and who are likely to be at higher risk for delivering a low birth weight infant. Once these higher-risk women can be identified, we hope to develop services for the women and their families which would help improve the chances of ending every pregnancy with a healthy mother and a healthy baby.

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IV. Black Women and Men

Marriage As A Process: A Blueprint for Success

by Reginald C. Blue, Ph.D., Clinical Psychologist

While individuals are viewed as perpetually being in a process of growth, that is, moving from level of development to another, the institution of marriage is too often regarded as an end in itself, a product, a state to be achieved. On the contrary, marriage too is a process. In taking this position, certain assumptions are in order. First, when people say "I do," they are generally unskilled in negotiating the marriage process and enter the arena without the benefit of earnest preparation for the tasks at hand. Second, people often enter marriage with the naive expectation that marriage will solve all of their problems. There is the subliminal belief that love just happens and does not have to be worked for and, if you must work for it, there has to be something wrong. Third, although the state of marriage should be viewed as a process, more appropriately, it is a stage in some couples' overall developmental process.

Generally speaking, romantic relationships are characterized by a developmental process which consists of five (5) definable stages (Neill & Tangedahl, 1981). Whether or not the couple formalizes their commitment by exchanging marriage vows, they will experience many, if not all, of the stages. Further, marriage may occur in any of the five stages.

Inasmuch as the necessary aspects of the relationships are developed as progress is made through each stage, all stages in the developmental process are important. Optimally, stability is enhanced as each stage is experienced. Difficulty is encountered when the couple becomes locked into one of the stages and growth does not occur. At this juncture, it is not uncommon, in fact, very easy for each of the partners to see what is wrong with the other partner. Concurrently, each is unwilling or unable to see the role that they are playing in the blockage. If a couple is to satisfactorily move through the developmental process, understanding the stages, or at least having an over-view of the situation, can prove extremely helpful.

Stage 1: The Happiness Bubble.

Each person has their hopes and dreams about the other and how perfect that person is, as well as about the relationship and what it will be. They feel happy, fulfilled and believe they have found the prince or princess of their dreams. Understandably, each is "placed" on a pedestal and is adored. Not recognizing that they each have their own ways of viewing the world based on their family of origin and their own unique life experiences, each person has their own fantasy which concludes with the often erroneous belief that their partner feels the same way. They are unaware that their partner's fantasy may be entirely different from their own.

Maintaining the fantasy is a primary concern and much energy is expended achieving this end. Denial is ever present and is necessary to maintain the fantasy that the partner and the relationship are both perfect. Relationships are often developed with the silent understanding that the partners will be everything to each other; that they will fulfill each other's dreams and that the fantasy will be maintained. As long as both individuals live up to their partner's expectations, this stage can be maintained indefinitely. However, at this juncture, the focus is narrow and limiting and is only on the partner or particular aspects of the relationship. Dependency on the partner to make the world complete is very much a part of this stage.

Stage 2: Bursting the Bubble.

Here the couple is confronted with the loss of the fantasy and denial gives way to anger. They become disillusioned with each other, the relationship and themselves for not having seen the problem areas earlier. As each person struggles to force the relationship to proceed along the lines he or she has envisioned, the power struggle becomes overt.

Because each person has his or her own methods of coping with life, the course the struggle may take will be different for each couple. Methods of coping can range from loud anger and fighting to sulking, withdrawing and depression. There may be crying, displays of self-pity, sexual ploys and/or withholding affection, physical illness, passive stances, ad infinitum. Whatever the method or combination of methods chosen, the goal is the same — control of the other partner. Eventually, however, the partners come to realize that each of them can and must meet his or her own individual needs. With this revelation, the move has been made to the third stage.

Stage 3: Self-Discovery.

In many instances, by this stage the individuals may no longer be involved with one another. If they are, behavior in this stage may be changing careers, taking self-improvement courses, having an affair, moving to a new city, or the like. Generally the behavior displayed in this stage is designed to enable the individual to become more familiar with him or herself and to meet the very personal needs of the individual with little or no regard for the partner. The intrapersonal conflict in this stage is what the individual thinks of him or herself as opposed to what others think — especially the partner. The task here is for each person to learn about him or herself as an individual entering a partnership.

The problem individuals encounter in this stage is not only becoming aware of these facets of themselves that they might not like, but also having to admit that they exist. However, knowing yourself by definition means recognizing both the negative and the positive. The ultimate goal of self-discovery is to know oneself well enough to choose what to give and not give to oneself, therefore fulfilling the individual as a person. This will in turn enable the individual to have something to give to someone else — a partner. Giving then becomes free of strings and shows the independence of the individual which benefits the relationship on the whole.

Stage 4: Bridge Building.

The fruits of partners individually discovering themselves are two new self-knowledgeable people who consciously choose whether or not to remain in the relationship. Consequently, new bridges must be built to one's partner one brick at a time. Further, for the relationship to continue, partners must accept the other's less-than-perfect self. A true bonus here is the knowledge that each person is comfortable with the fact that they are not and need not be perfect. There are few "imperfect" surprise aspects to occur which could seriously affect the relationship. Additionally, becoming knowledgeable about the good and bad aspects of oneself via self-discovery helps each person to choose how to best and fairly present themselves to the public.

Stage 5: Reconnection.

The couple is able to move on to this final stage after connections have begun during the Bridge Building Stage. In this stage, the couple must decide if they can stay together and allow each other the freedom to be who they are and grow. Whatever aspects of the relationship the couple chooses to keep, the choices are made as independent self-knowledgeable people. Armed with the full knowledge of the situation, the couple now has the tools to develop the kind of relationship each will be pleased to have. This stage is characterized by trust and freedom.

To be sure, as each person grows and changes through each of the stages, both as an individual and as half of a couple, there will be disagreements and struggles. Further, while the five (5) stages delineated here may be specifically applicable to a marriage, ideally some or portions of these stages should occur prior to marriage. In order for any relationship to develop and grow, the individuals involved must embrace certain realities, including but not limited to the following:

1. They must enter the relationship with a positive mental attitude;

2. They must recognize that neither they nor their partner is perfect. There is room for improvement,;

3. They must accept that relationships, particularly marriages, are not perfect;

4. They must accept that both are responsible for how the relationship develops and therefore they must make responsible decisions;

5. They must learn how to be together comfortably and adopt a present-future orientation;

6. There must be a willingness to commit to change and each must adopt an attitude which says, "I will change first if that is what is necessary to resolve the problem."

While social scientists have historically concerned themselves with the causes of marital disruption, a recent study (Lauer & Lauer, 1985) asked 351 couples, married 15 years or more, to identify reasons why their marriages had lasted. There was remarkable agreement among men and women on the keys to an enduring relationship. While there was general agreement on the top 15 reasons, the top nine (9) were virtually identical. They were as follows in order of frequency:

1. My spouse is my best friend
2. I like my spouse as a person
3. Marriage is a long-term commitment
4. Marriage is sacred
5. We agree on aims and goals
6. My spouse has grown more interesting
7. I want the relationship to succeed
8. We laugh together
9. We agree on a philosophy of life

If we can generalize from this study, it becomes apparent that individuals who experience long-term, happy marriages generally share a variety of attitudes and behavioral patterns that blend to produce a lasting relationship. Without question, maintaining this relationship is the result of continued hard work. When people have a job, they often put in a great deal of effort to understand what is required to be successful. Minimally, this same level of commitment should characterize any relationship individuals wish to maintain and grow. Continued interest, care and effort insure continued success in enhancing a marriage relationship.

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Women and the New World Order*

by Kathleen Geathers, *Social Activist; Psychiatric Social Worker and Family Therapist,* St. Luke's Hospital

**Prepared for Presentation at the U.N. Decade of Women, Nairobi Kenya. July, 1985.*

I am very honored to be here on this momentous occasion. As I look at the audience, I experience the same type of feeling I had several years ago when I attended the minority women's session of the National Organization of Women when it convened in Los Angeles, California.

We were Native American Women, Black Women, Pacific American Women and Hispanic American Women. As I observed these women at work, I was impressed with their know-how and brilliance and I was proud to be associated with them. I shortly thereafter became angry at how this untapped reservoir of talent was deliberately shut out of an opportunity to contribute, on an equal basis, to the good of the community.

You are much the same people, with the same hopes, talents, and aspirations. I am impressed with the speech President Julius Nyerere made in October 1984 to the African Regional Preparatory Meeting for the World Conference of the U.N. Decade for Women, and I would like to quote from it: "Women's development is thus not an easy or simple process. It is many-sided. It involves economic development of the nation — the whole war against poverty — as well as the need to ensure that the development process favors progress for the most disadvantaged sections of the community... In particular it means building new social attitudes, in which all people are regarded as truly of equal social worth, so that the criteria for the allocation of private and public responsibilities is not sex, (and I must add race) but the individual's abilities and potential contribution." While President Nyerere's speech was directed towards African Women, it applied to the plight of all Black Women with slight variations.

One thing we must remember, whatever the role the Black Woman assumes in the New World Order it must be of her own choosing. No one can speak for the Black woman but herself. The question is: Will she be more assertive in participating in major decisions which affect her, or will she be content to remain in the shadows as she has for decades?

To me, the life experiences of the Black Woman and those of her ancestors are unique in that they have faced the cruelties of slavery and its lingering aftermath, yet survived.

We are the daughters of Harriet Tubman and Sojourner Truth who emerged from the shadows even though their lives were in danger. Harriet Tubman, an ex-slave with a $40,000 bounty on her head, made more than nineteen trips into slave territory and rescued 300 people from bondage. She later served in the Union Army as a valued nurse and as a spy.

Sojourner Truth travelled and preached abolition and advocated equal rights for women. Her declaration still rings in my ears as I visualize her baring her arm and thrusting it high in her famous speech of 1851: "I could work as much and eat as much as a man — when I could get it — and bear the lash as well! And, ain't I a woman?"

These parents of ours left us a charge to not be content with second class citizenship, that we must continue the struggle they began.

It is time to come out of the shadows. It is time as Black Women to raise our voices in unison, declaring to the world that we deserve an equal chance to succeed. It is time to say no more sending our children to fight unjust wars when the society into which they were born and bred inflicts the injustice of refusing them an equal opportunity for health care, quality education, and job opportunity. Our children are deprived of a future.

Recent statistics released by the Children's Defense Fund under Marian Wright Edelman, revealed that Black children are loosing the gains they had made in the past. They are more likely to be born in poverty than five years ago. They are twice as likely to die during the first year of life as white children. They are two times more likely to be born prematurely and have low birth weight as whites, and have mothers who have had late or no pre-natal care.

In Cuyahoga County, the infant mortality rate between 1979 and 1983 for Black infants was 23.4 per 1,000 births, which was twice as high as whites and was higher than the national average.

Cleveland, Ohio has the second highest rate of births to teenage mothers of any major city except Baltimore, Maryland. What are the causes? Do they come from families where no one is employed, and hope has faded? Are they unable to visualize a future for themselves? And, therefore, they opt for instant gratification

which results in responsibilities for which they are ill-prepared to handle.

Joblessness among our youth is two-and-a-half times higher than whites. I ask you how can we keep quiet in the face of such a dilemna? We must make our voices heard. When our children are destroyed, so are we.

Adult Blacks have a life expectancy of 68 years as compared to 74 years for whites. The suicide rate for Black Men has increased 171 percent between 1960 to 1981 from 4 per 100,000 to 11 per 100,000. Much of this can be traced to high unemployment.

Breast cancer is high in Black Women, and lung cancer is high with Black Men. While no explanation has been given, it is common knowledge that chemical dumping is done in land-fills which are located close to Black and poor white neighborhoods.

Depo Provera which has been administered as a birth control measure mostly to Black Woman, has been known to cause permanent sterility, and it caused malignant tumors in the breast of dogs. Yet 11,000 women were injected from 1967 to 1978 and 92% were Black Women. Females, ages 10 to 19, accounted for 15.5%. One-half of these women were under age 25, and 71% were under age 30. Grady Hospital in Atlanta, Georgia and a Family Planning Clinic, both with large Black clientele, have not given adequate explanations why this product was used, and almost solely with Blacks. Is it that we are expendible? We must not be used for guinea pigs. Poor people do not ask questions; they feel lucky to have someone attend to their problems. It is up to us to see that they are not abused.

Being in the health field, I could use all of the time to discuss the widening gap between Blacks and Whites and I would barely scratch the surface. I have merely touched on this issue to bring it to your awareness that people should come before bombs; and that we should raise our voices on this matter.

Black Americans have a history which is emerging slowly. Many decades have passed while our contributions to America were ignored and left decaying in the archives of some library. America was built on the blood and sweat of Blacks, and we never received our 40 acres and a mule which are still due us. Nevertheless, Black history must not be shelved, and we must not be a party to this as we were in the recent presidential election. No one is prouder than I of the statesman-like qualities and fund of knowledge displayed by Jesse Jackson. He was courageous in the issues he brought to the public, and he was persistent in his badgering of the other candidates to have a woman on their ticket.

When Geraldine Ferraro was picked as the Vice Presidential candidate, she was hailed as a trail-blazer. The real trail blazer was never mentioned. She was a gutsy, Black Woman who in 1972 without an organization or financial backing, dared to challenge the all-white male club when she ran for the Presidency of the United States. And, she made a good showing in spite of this. We must not let America and the world forget that Shirley Chisholm was the first woman, and the first Black to run for president of the United States. I want her to know that it is time for her to again emerge from the shadows to clean up the shambles of this government. We are waiting to support you.

Like, Jesse Jackson, Shirley Chisholm was punished for being Black and daring to run for the highest office in the land. Their heads were bloodied, but they are still unbowed. They are both still around and we expect to hear from them. Courage, knowledge and leadership are qualities they both possess, and their history — our history — must not be relegated to the shadows.

It is time to recognize that our lives are entwined with Black Women everywhere, and we should be outraged whenever injustice is inflicted. Whether it is in South Africa — where I read in one of their newspapers, dated June 15, 1985, that two soldiers received a fine of fifty and ($97.00, approximately) for their part in roasting a Black man over a fire and then raping his wife. This is cruelty beyond a reasonable doubt, and the persons who engage in or tolerate this behavior have to be insane.

Unfortunately, hunting season on Blacks is year-round in South Africa. When it comes to hunting deer, one must have a license and there is a limit on how many deer he can kill in a season. There are no licenses to obtain or limitation on killing Blacks.

At the end of the day when the white South African male has killed with impunity, he goes home, washes his bloody hands, and sits down to pray before eating his evening meal. We must cry out against this inhumanity.

In the United States there is a mushrooming of hate groups who are dedicated to the extermination of Blacks and other minorities. The Klu Klux Klan has been around, engaging in its vicious pursuits since reconstruction. If this were a Black group with the goal of destroying whites, it would have been eliminated long ago.

In recent weeks in Cleveland, Ohio a 66 year old Black Woman lost her life when neighborhood bigots fire-bombed her home. In Cleveland, Ohio, (You can see that I do not have to talk about events in other parts of the country), on December 15, 1984 two Black couples and one interracial couple were forced to leave their respective apartments under police escort because white bigots totally demolished their residences with bricks coming through the windows from every direction.

When a young Black Man, Freddie Washington,

saved his money to open a store, he took his sister to see it. Bigots had thoroughly defaced his property with racial slurs telling him to get out, that he is not wanted in the neighborhood. We must cry out against these acts. Instead, there was silence from the Black community. Where is our rage?

When a black man, Clarence Pendleton, and a hispanic woman, Linda Chavez, turn back the clock on civil rights, we must protest. When the Justice Department, which helped to implement the edicts of the 1954 Civil Rights Act, becomes an adversary under the present administration to undo gains we have made in employment, we must protest. We must protest when the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission under Clarence Thomas announces as it did in February 1985, that it will no longer take class action suits against industries and corporations — instead, this commission will deal with individual cases. The fact is, change cannot take place on a broad basis when only an individual is represented instead of a class.

Where are we today? Seventy-five percent of poor people are women, according to U.S. labor statistics. One in three female-headed households lives in poverty as compared to 1 in 18 male-headed households. Women over 65 years of age are at the bottom, many living on less than $3,000 a year. In 1980 statistics reported 2,000 deaths from malnutrition; 80% of those deaths were people over 65.

Black Women wear a double harness: that of racism and sexism. Two-thirds of all poor Black families are headed by women. Almost all families headed by Black and Hispanic Women live in poverty. We are still struggling to survive.

Unemployment has affected the Black and Hispanic family more than any other groups. One has only to observe who stands in the breadlines waiting for a handout, in spite of the weather. Many of these people have never been unemployed in their lives, except for the last four years. It is not because they have money in their pockets that they don't wish to spend, as claimed by an insensitive public servant. It is because they do not have anything on which to survive.

We must actively participate in the political arena, but we must wake up if our representatives are to remember that their responsibilities are to the people who elected them, not to PAC's who buy them out. Not all of the people we elect to office are vulnerable; there are a few unsoiled ones. We must make demands for honest and courageous representation, whether our politicians are Black or White, and we must work to replace them when they do not perform to our satisfaction.

We cannot afford to have hero-worship in politics. If you will recall the events of Jonestown, you will realize that too much inappropriate adoration brought about its destruction. We must monitor and raise when necessary, and we must question when the occasion merits it.

If we are to have a significant role in the New World Order, we cannot afford to be divided by class. Those of us who feel we have made it, still have doors slammed in our faces. The division between the haves and the have-nots is an unreality. We all face discrimination, bigotry and hate.

If we, who have a piece of bread and a job, become so self-absorbed that we forget to care about the least of us, to that extent we are participating in our own destruction.

I came across a 1979 U.N. Report which stated that women make a third of the world's labor force, put in nearly two-thirds of the work hours and make one-fourth of the income.

This report added that, "The inequality of income is one more aspect of an unjust socio-economic order which enshrines and perpetuates such values as the superiority of one race over another, of capital over labor, of the healthy over the sick, of the normal over those who are different."

In addition to inequality, which we must not continue to tolerate, the real culprit threatening our society is the war machine. It is glutinous in terms of expense. It is glutinous in terms of taking the best scientific minds away from society which needs them-to fight disease, to clean the air we breathe and the water we drink. Instead, this brilliance is channeled into thinking of more and more fiendish ways to destroy the world.

If we are to have a role in the New World Order, we must definitely awaken from our slumber. We must point out to the war machine that this, too, is our world. It has peoples of diverse cultures which should not impose a threat. There is an art in learning to live together, but it only takes power and insanity to destroy.

We must preserve our world for ourselves and the generations to come. We must have Peace. We must have a just Society!

V. Black Family Health

Cancer Awareness and Prevention in the Black Community

by Vickie Campbell, R.N., Nurse Consultant of The Mt. Sinai Medical Center Cancer Awareness Program.
Joyce Lee, R.N., C.N.P., Project Director of The Mt. Sinai Medical Center Cancer Awareness Program

The family is the most basic institution of any people, it is the center and source of civilization. Within the intimate context of the family, individuals develop their concepts of self worth, beliefs, and values as they relate to their environment (Billingsley, 1982).

Preventative medicine in the black community is needed to ensure the survival of the family unit. Human service professionals collectively are in a position to make positive changes toward the quality of life through helping people and families attain and maintain wellness. There are at least two major reasons for the attention wellness is receiving from individuals and organizations. First, there is increasing evidence to suggest a relationship between distress and the onset of major or chronic health problems. Secondly, we are faced with astronomic health care costs (Fritz, 1984). Chronic disease now accounts for 75 percent of all deaths in the United States. The chronic diseases have both behavioral and environmental risk factors (Hatch & Callan, 1984).

A chronic disease that has deteriorating effects and threatens the integrity of the family is cancer. Family members can change the effects of cancer by being educated in prevention and the need for early diagnosis and treatment. With such knowledge, a difference in the mortality and morbidity of cancer will be noted.

According to the statistics provided by the American Cancer Society, the cancer rates over the past 25 years indicate that: Cancer incidence for blacks increased 27 percent; while for whites it increased 12 percent; Cancer death rates for blacks increased 34 percent, while for whites it increased nine (9) percent (Jones, 1983).

Nationally, 7.5 million black Americans will eventually develop cancer, 83,000 new black cancer cases will be diagnosed, and 49,000 black Americans will die of cancer. Of every five (5) deaths in the black community one will be from cancer, that means one (1) every 11 minutes (Jones, 1983).

In Cleveland during 1985, there will be 792 blacks with a new diagnosis of cancer. In addition, 393 black Clevelanders will die of cancer in 1985. Eventually 62,836 black Clevelanders will get cancer during their life time (Jones, 1985). These statistics show that there is a tremendous need for cancer awareness and prevention in the black community.

There is no physical reason that blacks should have higher cancer rates than whites. It is believed by some physicians that blacks are less aware of the signs and symptoms of cancer and so they are less likely to get to a health care agency while the cancer is still localized (Cardwell & Collier, 1981). The longer persons wait to present the doctor with the sign or symptom, the less the cure rate might be.

A study done by EVAXX a black-owned evaluation firm, along with the American Cancer Society, shows that even though the incidence of cancer among black Americans is rising at an accelerated rate, the level of knowledge among blacks about the disease and its prevention is alarmingly low. The results of the survey revealed the following:

a) Blacks view cancer as extraordinarily deadly.

b) Blacks feel as individuals, they are not likely to get cancer.

c) One-fifth of blacks surveyed believe there is a poor chance of curing cancer, even if it is detected early. One possible explanation for this negative expectation of early detection, is that blacks more than whites question the effectiveness of cancer treatments. The survey also showed that cancer's prevalence was underestimated. Regardless of education and income, blacks are working with some erroneous pictures of the cancer situation (Cardwell & Collier, 1981).

There are barriers that prevent necessary visits to doctor offices or health care agencies. Barriers to health care for persons in rural areas, especially low income families, include limited resources caused by too few physicians or other medical personnel. Medical services are inaccessible due to distance, lack of

transportation and ignorance about how to use resources. Even when the ill person knows where and how to make contact, there are often barriers that prohibit accessibility to medical care. Frequently, those barriers are invisible and undetected by the medical personnel who would offer the service. In addition, some persons are fearful of the consequences of the illness, and are often distrustful of medical procedures (Reul, 1985). Individuals are not always able to financially manage to pay to rent, pay utilities, buy food, and maintain medical care.

The financial barriers are particularly problematic given the rising costs of medical care. Myths also prevent people from getting the medical care they require. Some of the commonly held myths about cancer are:

- Cancer is fatal, contagious, and hereditary.
- Bumps and bruises can cause cancer.
- Breast feeding prevents cancer.
- Pain is always an early sign of cancer.
- When the air touches the cancer during surgery it will spread (American Cancer Society, 1984).

Myths need to be removed as a barrier to prevention and early detection of cancer.

The truth about cancer is, individuals can change their lifestyles and change their chances of getting cancer. Cancer can be cured and/or controlled through surgery, chemotherapy or radiation therapy, alone or in combination. It is more curable if detected early. Cancer is usually not painful until progressive stages. There is a tendency for cancer to prevail in families, but there is not scientific proof that the disease is hereditary. Cancer of any area of the body is considered cured if after treatment, cancer does not reoccur in that same site within five (5) years. Elderly persons are found to have cancer at higher rates. The elderly are more susceptible because with the aging process there is a greater chance for cell mutation (American Cancer Society, 1984).

There are some agents that are suspected of causing cancer, but have not been proven in a laboratory. An example of these agents are high fat diets, and chemicals that are under investigation. Agents that are known to be capable of producing cancer, are tobacco and toxic chemicals. There are some unavoidable things that put individuals at high risk for getting cancer, like the aging process (Jones, 1985).

Some cancers, not all, are preventable. Most lung cancers can be prevented by not smoking cigarettes. Skin cancers can be prevented by avoiding excessive sun and using protective sun screens. Certain cancers caused by occupational or environmental factors can also be prevented by eliminating or reducing contact with known carcinogens (Jones, 1985).

Extensive research is being done to evaluate and clarify the role that diet plays in the development of cancer. A low fat, high fiber diet is being suggested. Fats are being investigated as a possible cancer causing agent. The fiber is important in that it speeds up the passage of food through the digestive tract and helps prevent exposure of the intestinal lining to cancer causing agents in food. High fiber is thought to discourage the bacteria which aid in formation of carcinogens, helping to prevent cancer cell growth. Although many cancers cannot be prevented, many needless deaths can be prevented by early detection. Routing cancer related checkups are the best means of finding early and highly curable cancer. Awareness of cancer's seven warning signals and prompt medical attention can lead to an early diagnosis with excellent chances for successful treatment (Jones, 1985).

Direct and indirect costs of cancer for the family, health care organizations and society as a whole are staggering. Dr. Jerome Cohen (1976) sites the Third National Cancer Survey Report. In this report he noted the hospital costs for specific cancers from the first day of admission through a two-year follow up period. The sample consisted of 6,332 patients with an average hospital stay of 15.6 days at the cost of $1,399 per admission. Cancer patients who did not survive averaged longer and more expensive stays than cancer patients who survived. The majority of admissions in this study were paid for by Medicare, Blue Cross, and other private insurances. The indirect costs of cancer are enormous. The loss of productivity because of mortality, morbidity and disability must be considered. The life expectancy of persons with cancer is reduced by an average of 16 years if they are under 45 years of age, and nine (9) years if they are over 65 years of age. The loss in manpower has been estimated at 1.8 million work years with a loss of $43,000 per death due to cancer. Treatment decisions are often based upon cost and many families face bankruptcy in their attempt to seek the best available care (Cohen, Cullen, & Martin, 1982).

In life-threatening situations, the American health-care system provides excellent care, but the ability of health services to enhance the quality of life in the management of chronic illness remains unclear (Hatch & Callan, 1984). In view of all the above, it is clear to see that cancer prevention is crucial, particularly within the black community. Knowledge of Cancer's Seven Warning Signals can be utilized as a preventive measure to combat the deteriorating affects

cancer can have on an individual, his family and his community.

The Warning Signals spell out the word CAUTION; they are:

- **C**hange in bowel or bladder habits
- ***A*** sore that does not heal
- ***U***nusual bleeding or discharge
- ***T***hickening of a lump in the breast or elsewhere
- ***I***ndigestion or difficulty in swallowing
- **O**bvious change in a wart or mole
- ***N***agging cough or hoarseness (American Cancer Society, 1984).

A program that is addressing the awareness, prevention, early detection and diagnosis of cancer is The Mt. Sinai Medical Center of Cleveland Cancer Awareness Program. This program is fully funded by The Ohio Department of Health. The program targets the black community of Cleveland. The goals of the Cancer Awareness program are the following:

a) To increase the knowledge of risks related to cancer and clarify erroneous myths.

b) Improve public attitude toward cancer prevention

c) Encourage behavior that will reduce a person's chance of getting cancer.

d) Have churches within the black community develop and implement a cancer awareness program using the guidelines and materials designed by Mt. Sinai Medical Center, thereby increasing accessibility to knowledge and health care systems.

e) Educate the church community that cancer is a preventable disease.

f) Implement the program at no cost to the community.

To accomplish these goals a program has been devised to educate churcn volunteers. The volunteers are educated on cancer facts and specific types of cancer that are most common in the black community. There are five (5) sessions in this program. The major areas stressed are breast, lung, uterine, and colon-rectal body systems. The normal functions of each of these systems are taught as well as the abnormal functions. Church volunteers who complete the training program provide similar information to their congregation. The volunteers are responsible to present three programs per year to their congregation. Volunteers will refer persons found to have signs or symptoms to their own source of health-care or make referrals to an appropriate health-care provider. The Mt. Sinai Cancer Awareness staff follows all individuals who require referral. An example of program outcomes is illustrated by a woman in one of the participating churches who was taught self-breast examination. Later, while examining her breasts at home, she discovered a lump in her breast. She was referred for follow-up, diagnosed as having cancer of the breast, and received prompt medical care.

The success of the program is attributed to the church focus. Through the leadership of the black minister, the church has proven to be an effective organization. The church is an approved and tolerated place for social activities. It is a forum for expression, an outlet for emotional repressions, and a plan for social living. In the black ministry, there is a feeling of trust and mutual loyalty not found in other relationships. Frequently, the phrase "my pastor" enters into discussions among church affiliated blacks. The use of this phrase indicates there is a strong sense of mutual and personal attachment (Askey, Parker, Alexander, & White, 1983).

The black church has enormous potential for having a positive impact upon the lifestyle choices of its church community. Its resources extend beyond the religious fellowship and emphasize the importance of directing the whole person. It is for these reasons that the black church can be instrumental in providing health education to its members. The church can actively participate in promoting and maintaining the health of the black family (Askey, Parker, Alexander, & White, 1983). The minister must take a vital role in the health education programs if the programs are to be successful.

The Mt. Sinai Medical Center Cancer Awareness program is working with other agencies as well. The American Cancer Society supplies the program with educational material and trains teachers in schools how to educate children about cancer. Case Western Reserve University Medical School provides speakers for the agencies involved in this coordinated effort, and the Cleveland Council of Black Nurses sponsored a luncheon and workshop on cancer prevention for nurses and other health professionals in the black community.

Knowledge of health facts does not always assure desirable health behavior, but one cannot practice what one does not know (Fritz, 1984). A family that learns how to detect and control chronic diseases such as cancer will be an asset to themselves and their community.

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Controlling the Devastating Effects of Hypertension in the Black Family

by Joyce Lee, R.N., C.N.P., Project Director, Community Hypertension Program, The Mt. Sinai Medical Center

There is something unique about growing up black in this country. If the delivery of health-care services to blacks is to be effective, an understanding of how blacks are both like every family in this country and also not like any other family, is essential (Solomon, 1985).

There are many things about the black family that have not appeared in research. There is very little known about the black middle-class families because most of the research has been done on low income blacks. The black middle-class family has survived, prevailed and done well in spite of all the barriers that confront them in society (Solomon, 1985).

Black families should be empowered with the ability to prevent and control chronic diseases. In order to empower the black family with these abilities, one must first recognize what goes on in the helping process relative to health maintenance. James W. Leigh (1985) suggests examining the helping process in the following ways:

1. What do people say to people that is heard as helpful?
2. How do they say it?
3. Why do they say it? (Leigh, 1985).

Every society and therefore, all people have had their own beliefs and practices of folk medicine. Such practices existed long before the establishment of medical schools. Folk medicine is a very general term covering a wide variety of medical tradition and or practices from the use of teas to relieve colds to the use of vitamin C to prevent colds (Dennis 1985).

Hypertension is a deadly disease. The very nature of the disease hypertension, coupled with the fact that it predominates in a culture of people who were often denied medical care and advice creates a perfect situation for myths to abound concerning the cause and cure of high blood pressure. Understanding such myths is the first step in educating the black community on hypertension. Many people believe that hypertension means an increase in tension, therefore, a cure would be to relieve the tension. Another myth concerning the word high blood pressure is that it is related to the consistency of the blood. The blood is believed to be too thin or too thick, causing it to rush to the head or settle in parts of the body below the head. According to this myth, a cure for high blood pressure would be to ingest a thickening or thinning agent that would bring the blood in equal balance. Garlic water, Epsom salt and specific laxatives are often the substances used. Many individuals do not understand the difference between low blood which is associated with the iron content of the blood, and high blood which refers to the pressure of the blood against the walls of the arteries. Based upon their misunderstanding, people perceive low blood as a threat to life and high blood pressure as insignificant (Snow, 1983). Hypertension is a disease that affects approximately 60 million Americans. Blacks have high blood pressure at twice the rate of whites (Thompson, 1981).

Thompson (1981) reported on a study that showed fourteen year old black males had higher blood pressures than their white counterparts even though they were not considered hypertensive. Black males were found to have higher blood pressures than whites until the fifth decade of life.

By the seventh decade of life, there was little or no difference between the blood pressures of black and white males. It was felt that black males had already succumbed to the devastating affects of uncontrolled high blood pressure. Black males have strokes at six times the rate of whites. By the age of thirty, 6,000 black men have lost their lives from a stroke that was due to high blood pressure (Thompson, 1981).

In addition to having higher blood pressure readings, the pattern of target organ damage is different between blacks and whites. Black hypertensives will show more EKG and X-ray changes that are indicative of left ventricular hypertrophy. There is more evidence of nephrosclerosis and reduced renal blood flow in black hypertensives (Finnerty, 1971).

The question, why do these differences exist between the blood pressures of blacks and whites has often been asked. There are varied opinions, speculations and little substantial data that states why blacks have higher blood pressures than whites. However, the fact that cannot be disputed is that blacks have high blood pressure at twice the rate of whites in America

(Frisancho, Leonard, & Bollettino, 1984). With this in mind, every effort should be made to reach out to the black family and provide them with detection, screening and treatment for high blood pressure. This cannot be separated from the crucial need of providing education about the asymptomatic nature of high blood pressure and the devastating affects of uncontrolled high blood pressure on the family.

In the final report of The National Black Health Providers Task Force on High Blood Pressure Education and Control, it was recommended that nontraditional settings for the detection of high blood pressure among blacks be utilized (U.S. Report of Health and Human Services, 1981).

The church has traditionally played a variety of roles for black Americans, both in providing strength and guidance to individuals and families and in helping the community develop resources to improve their health and well-being. It is believed that due to the importance of religion in the black experience, the black church is second only to the extended family. This was true in the past and it is equally true today (Reidy, 1983).

Churches benefit the community because they are one of the few places where the whole family goes together. It is a social center, a club, an arena for the exercise of one's capabilities and powers, a world in which one may achieve self-realization and advancement (Jenkins, 1984).

The concepts of self-help, self-care and self-reliance are not new to the black church. Traditionally, churches have played a role in the behavioral and psychological aspects of their congregations. Religious organizations have various degrees of health guidelines inherent in their religious convictions. These health principles can range from suggestions on how to live a healthy life to established church doctrine that sanctions individuals who do not adhere to prescribed principles (Eng, Jackson, Hatch, Young, & Pullen, 1982).

Some black religious organizations have auxiliaries. Two in particular, Lifeline and the Nurses' Guild are health related. Lifeline feeds and clothes the less fortunate in the community and the Nurses' Guild offers first-aid care to the congregation whose members are emotionally overcome by the ministry or suffer from heat exhaustion (Moore & Williamson, 1982).

The Mt. Sinai Medical Center Community Hypertension Program is an unique program in the City of Cleveland that builds upon the health, social and community structure already existing in the church. Through this program, the medical center and the community join together to detect and control high blood pressure in the black family. The medical center is involved with this program by providing:

1. Education about hypertension to the black community utilizing the expertise of a nurse.
2. Training of church volunteers in blood pressure screening.
3. The loan of blood pressure equipment.
4. Facilitating a "self-help" model of blood pressure screening programs within churches.
5. Follow-up of all individuals identified as having an elevated blood pressure.
6. Emergency medical care to all individuals identified as having severely elevated blood pressure readings.

The program has been implemented in 23 churches that are located in the Cleveland area with predominately black congregations. The number of people attending any one of the churches varies from 50 to 1,300 on a Sunday. Four hundred (400) church volunteers have been trained in the Church Hypertension Control Program. Upon request from a minister or a member of his congregation, a meeting is arranged whereby the entire program is explained. It is emphasized that it is their program; that the nurses are only consultants who will train volunteers from within their church on how to set up and operate a hypertension control program.

A church hypertension control program requires volunteers at every level. Everyone who wishes to volunteer is utilized in some capacity. Teenagers sit along side senior citizens as together they register church members who wish to have their blood pressures taken.

The 23 churches involved in the program represent a wide-range of religious orientations. A review of the statistical data from June 1984 to June 1985, indicates that there were 1,704 new clients screened in the church program, and 3,027 clients rescreened for a total of 4,731 blood pressures taken by church volunteers. Of the new clients, 68 percent were black and 32 percent were white. A total of 18 percent of all new clients were known hypertensives. Of the known hypertensives, 64 percent were not controlled. The emphasis of the program has been to increase the percentage of known hypertensives under control. An analysis of the data indicates the control rate of known hypertensives have increased to 67 percent as a result of the intensive tracking and follow-up system.

Each church in the program selects a coordinator and assistant coordinator. The coordinators have formed a Council that meets on a quarterly basis. The Council provides a forum for members to assess the needs of their church and community. The Coordinators' Council develops strategies to meet those needs. It is through the Coordinators' Council that continuation of the church hypertension control program is assured when funding is no longer available.

The Mt. Sinai Medical Center Community Hypertension Program has proven to be an adaptation in the health-care delivery system that promotes health education, detection, and long-term control of high blood pressure. All of this leads to a healthy family unit. Black families who participate in the Church Hypertension Control program are serving as role models for other black families in the community.

Behavior and lifestyle choices of the individuals impact directly on health status. Community wellness through the church will enhance the black family and, in turn, it will keep the church congregation healthier emotionally, physically, and financially.

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Social Service and Health Care Networking: A Model for Long-Term Hypertension Tracking In Black Family Target Populations*

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Introduction

The National Urban League was created out of the reform movement at the beginning of this century. The mission of the National Urban League was, and continues to be, directed toward eliminating racial discrimination and segregation, and increasing the economic and political empowerment of blacks and other minorities.

Locally, the Urban League of Greater Cleveland is one of 113 affiliates of the National Urban League. It was founded as a non-profit, community oriented agency, to promote equal opportunities for blacks moving from the south to the industrial north, during what was commonly called the Great Migration. The Urban League of Greater Cleveland is an agency exemplifying public service, advocacy and research through a variety of programs which address a litany of issues such as education, unemployment, housing, and service to the elderly. It is an organization which has elected to take a pragmatic approach to dealing with substantive issues in the community.

The Urban League's Blueprint for Action Program (National Urban League, Inc., July, 1982) is founded on accountability to its constituents who help determine priorities and who participate as active volunteers to serve the needs of Cleveland's black community. To carry out this mission, volunteers come from all sectors of the community including business and social organizations, churches and schools. The Urban League interacts with government agencies, industry, the academic community, human resource providers and other community based organizations, as well as individual members of the black community. Staff members are involved in the provision of direct services to families through employment, office systems training, elderly services and business development.

In view of the interest in health care which has been generated by blood pressure screenings and follow-up services provided through the Urban League's Elderly Services Program, the Urban League developed a liaison relationship with the Greater Cleveland High Blood Pressure Coalition during the summer of 1985. Unlike the Urban League, the Coalition is a young agency which was launched in 1981 as a non-profit, health advocacy organization. Since that time it has grown to represent the collective interests of 30 local clinics, hospitals, health care agencies and hypertension programs. As the focal point for this group, the Coalition attempts to work cooperatively within the local hypertension network to demonstrate the effectiveness of comprehensive planning in an urban network.

The mission of the Coalition is to work toward mitigating the mortality and morbidity associated with uncontrolled hypertension by providing public education and training, detection and screening, and follow-up and referral services. Of particular concern is the need for a systematic program aimed at reducing high blood pressure mortality and morbidity among the minority populations in Cleveland, specifically the black target population.

Review of the Literature

The National Black Health Providers Task Force was appointed by the National Heart, Lung and Blood Institute in the fall of 1977 as a response to the problem of uncontrolled high blood pressure in the largest ethnic minority in this country (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Oct., 1980). The membership of the task force included representatives of the predominantly black legal association, the predominantly black health professional associations, and the Federal Government's executive and legislative branches. The goal of this impressive task force was to foster the development of a hypertension control program at a national level through awareness and educational intervention. Of special interest to this group was the need to emphasize efforts among Black Americans, a population group which has a signifi-

cantly higher prevalence of high blood pressure than the general population.

A study done in Evans County, Georgia (Herman, 1971), depicted high blood pressure as a serious risk factor for blacks, just as the landmark Framingham study (Kannel, Wolf, Vertes, and McNamara, 1970) had depicted this phenomena for whites. Statistics indicate that hypertension affects 38.2% of the black populations as compared to 28.8% of all caucasians. This prevalence is 66% greater than that found among whites. The consequences of this disease are devastating since it leads to stroke, heart and kidney disease. Regardless of which organs are attacked, the economic, social and psychological implications are significant and place a burden on the individual, the family, health care institutions and society.

The high incidence of hypertension in black individuals is complicated by the fact that only a small percentage of blacks receive adequate medical care (Finnerty, Mattie and Finnerty, 1973). The need for tracking, as well as providing education, is critical to controlling high blood pressure and thereby reducing mortality and morbidity. At its inception, the National Black Health Providers Task Force on High Blood Pressure Education and Control acknowledged the importance of community-focused groups and individuals to the success of its efforts. Fundamental to the consensus process that they used to arrive at their recommendations was the realization that health care providers alone would not achieve this objective. Only a collaborative relationship could offer a dual opportunity to bring high blood pressure under control.

The purpose of this paper is to bring to conscious awareness the need to develop this type of infrastructure in local communities in order to demonstrate the effectiveness of working together to access the black community to provide public education and services related to controlling high blood pressure.

Problem

The Coalition's direct interest in black hypertension, coupled with the Urban League of Greater Cleveland's concern for the health and well being of all Black Americans, led to the formalization of an agreement between the two organizations, so that together, they could attempt to reduce high blood pressure morbidity and mortality among their constituency. Though each organization retains complete autonomy and internal control, the Coalition is housed within the Urban League and receives in-kind services which enhance the day to day operations of the Coalition. In turn, the Coalition hopes to use the framework of the Urban League to facilitate its outreach and targeting of the black community to assure that greater numbers are screened and treated for high blood pressure related problems. The necessity to interrelate the issue of high blood pressure leads to the assumption that over the past decades black agendas have been constructed according to areas of concern rather than with approaches connecting goals and objectives to the socio-economic, educational, and political strategies required to achieve them. Likewise, the Coalition has developed community hypertension control models but has not always been capable of operationalizing the model in terms of accessing the black community. A logical deduction based upon these statements is that a need exists for larger scaled research, planning and implementation which can only be achieved through networking. Networking, if used effectively, would permit the utilization of a combination of comprehensive resources within the black community and the health care community.

Reconnecting the infrastructure of the community, using the community hypertension model, would mean bringing collective leadership together to dialogue and plan strategies which would permit research, detection, tracking, referral and education focused on hypertension within the black community.

Plan

The development of community high blood pressure control programs is not new, but in order for the program to be successful and reach its target population, the factors that lead to success must be considered. In this case, these factors include, but are not necessarily limited to:

1) provision of services for every step in the high blood pressure control process. This service is referred to as tracking (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, June, 1981). Tracking helps to evaluate the progress of individual patients as well as the overall effectiveness of hypertension control programs. The goal of tracking is to encourage the consumer to adhere to treatment through regular patient contact (Haynes, Taylor, and Sackett, 1979).

2) accessing the black community; The Coalition has been able to access a portion of the black community but not consistently and not in numbers that will noticeably impact upon high blood pressure control for the black population. The challenge of the combined Urban League/ Coalition Hypertension Control Program model is to use the combined resources of both groups

to alter health care attitudes, life-styles, and health habits which contribute to uncontrolled hypertension.

3) working collectively to develop high blood pressure control programs;

4) ensuring that the urban Cleveland community knows about the service through awareness programs by the media to schools, families, churches, etc.; and

5) having a commitment to long-term involvement.

The Urban League and Coalition will appoint a task force. Selection of the task force will focus on representation by members of the health care community, consumers, the Urban League, the Coalition, and representatives of educational, civic, industrial, church, social and professional organizations. The charge of the task force includes: assessment and development of goals, setting priorities, identification of funding sources, manpower requirements, training and education of health care professionals, as well as volunteers, selection and staffing of outreach centers, and evaluation of the program. A community assessment will be implemented to gather and analyze information to determine the magnitude of the high blood pressure problem in the black population of Greater Cleveland area.

The assessment will consider: who needs to be served, what services are needed, where services should be offered and how and by whom the services should be delivered. Once the assessment phase is complete, the Urban League and Coalition will determine goals, set priorities, develop new initiatives and work to resolve issues that might affect the success of the program.

Development of goals should include, but not necessarily be limited to:

1) Developing a proposal for funding which provides a collective community health model that permits the Urban League and Coalition to generate information and services critical to the care and treatment of blacks with high blood pressure. This goal recognizes the need to use resources at the local, state and national level to assist in identifying potential foundations, organizations or governmental agencies interested in funding minority groups or health care agencies. Examples of resources include the Black Development Fund, the Cleveland Foundation, National Institutes of Health, pharmaceutical companies, and sororities/ fraternities such as Delta Sigma Theta Sorority. The proposal must identify need, and must consider staffing, facilities, materials equipment, training, budget and evaluation.

2) Implementing the existing Coalition tracking system which allows the gathering of statistical information regarding the detection, confirmation, evaluation, therapeutic intervention and follow-up of blacks with hypertension.

3) Designing and implementing an accurate blood pressure measurement training program to certify health care professionals within the Urban League community. Here, certification programs would be developed for professional health care providers such as the Cleveland Council of Black Nurses, the Visiting Nurse Association and the Cleveland Academy of Medicine. Establishment of a certification program would set standards by which health care providers could screen and teach others to take and record blood pressure accurately.

4) Designing a training program to teach volunteers to screen for high blood pressure. Health care providers certified as trainers would implement training programs for volunteers from social, religious, business and educational institutions to perform and monitor blood pressure screenings. Volunteers, such as members of the Urbanites, the Urban Guild, and minority social organizations such as Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, the National Council of Negro Women, and the NAACP, should be considered in the selection process. This goal deals with the need for trained volunteers. Volunteers must be able to identify accurately those persons with high blood pressure readings.

5) Utilizing resources within the Cleveland community to develop "out-reach" programs in neighborhood centers. To meet this challenge, the Urban League and the Coalition need to use the media to develop awareness in the black community, activate the health care system and to serve as the entry point for developing a comprehensive high blood pressure program. Also, when sponsoring community screenings, the Coalition, Urban League and its volunteers must access the community in convenient locations.

The primary purpose of detection is to draw persons with high blood pressure into the health care system. Planned detection activities provide a way of identifying potential persons with borderline or high blood pressure. However, de-

tection activities will have little impact on the true problem of high blood pressure unless they are geared to the black community, and are a part of an interrelated system of diagnosis, treatment, and long-term maintenance.

Detection efforts fall into three categories: *routine detection, targeted detection and community screenings* (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, June 1981).

Routine Detection refers to any health care contact the client may have, whether it be with a physician, a nurse, a pharmacist or other allied health care professional. Many opportunities for routine blood pressure measurement go unused and therefore a vast number of individuals may not have their blood pressure measured.

Targeted Detection refers to identifying a particular population predisposed to high blood pressure and devoting a significant number of resources to this group.

Community Screening refers to an activity designed to help a large, unselected group of people on a continuous yet irregular basis according to convenience and availability of personnel.

Long term maintenance as a part of an integrated hypertension control program refers to ongoing client contact beyond the initial screening and to patient information and education. Persons with high blood pressure will not attempt to lower their blood pressure unless they:

a) understand the consequences and risks of high blood pressure;

b) believe that they have something to gain by making the changes requested;

c) possess the knowledge to manage diet, medications, and activity; and

d) possess the skills to change their blood pressure.

6) Evaluating the effectiveness of the program components formatively and summatively. Of critical magnitude is the need to determine organization and sequence. The commitment to this process is a labor intensive one and one dependent on careful planning and implementation. Evaluation is a tool that will help to measure the success of the program. Evaluation can be used to identify program activities which are successful. One such tool already in place is the tracking system. This record will identify who has been screened, dates, levels of blood pressure readings, appointment information and patient education efforts, to name a few. Other components to consider include: testing of volunteer health care professionals to perform blood pressure measurements accurately, the consumer's response to the blood pressure screening, and the consumer's response to the educational program. Evaluation can lead to improvement in day to day operations, shifts in resource allocations, increased cooperation within the Coalition and Urban League network, and improved credibility within the community.

Conclusion

In summary, the proposed Community Hypertension Control model is not different in design, but is unique because of the collaborative relationship upon which it is built. The dual networking activities of the Urban League and the Coalition, as well as the support of the Cleveland community, should produce a system that will help control high blood pressure in the black community and reduce the potential risk of related disease.

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